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D E F E N C E
O F T H E
P E O P L E :
O R,
Full Confutation
O F T H E
P R E T E N D E D F A C T S ,
A D V A N C ' D
In a late HUGE, A N G R Y Pamphlet ;
C A L L ' D
F A C T I O N D E T E C T E D .
K In a L E T T E R
To the Author of that W E I G H T Y Performance.

— *Miserum Fortuna Sinonem
Finxit, Vanum etiam Mendacemque Improba finxit.*

— *Abandon'd Fellows never value the Shame
of being detected, provided they think the Lye will be
of some Service to them for a Day, or even for an
Hour.*

ANSWER TO THE REMARKS ON THE
CRAFTSMAN'S VINDICATION.

The. S E C O N D E D I T I O N .

L O N D O N :

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DEFENCE

OF THE

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1753

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A
D E F E N C E
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P E O P L E.

In a LETTER to the AUTHOR of
FACTION DETECTED.

THAT I do not begin my Epistle according to Form, with my Lord, or may it please your Excellency, or Reverend Sir, at the Top of my Page, I hope you will excuse; because I am not quite determin'd which of those Addresses most properly belongs to you. When I reflect on the almost immeasurable Length of your Work, the abundant Copiousness of your Stile, your religious Veneration for Heads, Divisions,

A

Sub-

Sub-divisions, Use and Application, the Changes and Counter-changes you ring so prettily on the Words * *forgiven* and *forgot*, the awful Solemnity (of a *Would to God*) with which those pretty Changes are introduc'd, and above all the Home Charge you are pleas'd to bring against the People of *England*, of † *Ingratitude to Providence*, and MORE than JEWISH *Obstinacy and Hardness of Heart*: When I reflect, I say, on these and such like curious Particulars, I cannot help thinking of some politic, double-benefic'd Divine, who lies in wait for a Bishoprick, and probably set forth this notable Piece to shew his Qualification.

Again, when I recollect what a profligate, abandon'd Spirit prevails in it; what a mighty Mass of Calumnies it hath rak'd together, what an infinite Quantity of Dirt it scatters; what, little, low, contemptible Fallacies it is founded upon, and what a Multiplicity of Falshoods almost every Page of it is crouded with, I cannot help casting my Eye on the ONCE famous *Balance-Master*: It being an Expedient well worthy of so profound and dextrous a Politician, to put on the Guise of a Friend, and advance such Things, by Way of Apology for his *late* Adversaries, as must, naturally and necessarily, renew and redouble the Resentments of the Public against them, and pro-

* Faction detected, p. 33. † P. 168.

voke such a Reply as would render them yet more odious, and more contemptible, by treating their Characters and Actions with the Severity that Both so justly and notoriously deserve.

But I, also, lose Sight of the *Balance-master*, when I attend to the very nice, quaint and subtle Distinctions you have made between *Faction* and *Opposition*; the new and singular Criterion you have set up of a *Whig-Conduct*, and a *Tory Faction*; the dainty Devices you have found out, to shew how the *Concurrence* or *Desertion* of *Half-a-score* Persons exalts the People into Patriots, or debases them into Incendiaries; the very extraordinary Skill you have manifested in stating and solving political Problems; especially that which insinuates what Reasons the * *best Men* in the *Opposition* had to fear the *Effects* of the *Ferment* they had rais'd, and at the same time, urges the *Necessity of raising it yet higher*; the lamentable Complaints you have poured forth, that no Man could depart from his Principles, without departing from his Character likewise; your visible Affectation of calling such *Apostates* Men of *true Spirit*; and your pompous, digressive Paragraphs on the Glory of sacrificing private Views and Resentments, † *as some it seems have GREATLY done*; and above all the frequent Sallies of Resentment which you have

* P. 35.

† P. 59.

suffer'd to escape against the *Independent* Electors of *Westminster* : When I attend to these, and a thousand other simular Airs and Graces, so profusely lavish'd thorough your huge Work, another Image rises before me; I recollect a Man who was yesterday courting Popularity like a Tribune, and to Day is gathering up the Crums that fall from a Courtier's Table; Who owes his Voice, where only it can be of Consequence, to the noblest, freest and bravest Effort that ever was made, by those who may be truly call'd the People, and who now declares against that very Spirit to which he stands so highly oblig'd; who, like the *Ass* in the *Lion's* Skin, assumes the Grandee, talks in the Ministerial, or rather Royal Stile of * *We* and *Us*, when accounting for Measures of State and Negotiations of Ministers; and who industriously labours to be † mistook for *one* who can scarce be more asham'd of his Cause, than he hath declar'd himself to be of his Advocate.

I remember, and so must you, that a certain noble Lord, who had ventur'd to shoot his Bolt under the Title of *Sedition* and *Defamation*, met with such a Return as oblig'd him to lay down his Pen, and take up his Sword; now a dull Defence, or a fulsome Panegyric is infinitely more provoking than the severest Satire, according to Mr. *Pope* :

* P. 81.

† P. 126.

*Of all mad Creatures, if the Learn'd are right,
It is the Slaver kills, and not the Bite.*

What then have you to expect who have officiously undertaken to defend a Conduct, which one, so much your Superior, both knew and tacitly own'd to be indefensible? From the Public, you already find, you are to receive no Quarter; and as to him, is it possible he should forgive you, when he finds it impossible to forgive himself? Have you not inflam'd the Wound you undertook to heal? Hath not your Balm prov'd a Corrosive? Have not you left your Patient in a worse Condition than you found him? And hath not he abundant Reason, to curse the presumptuous Quack, whose wicked Experiment, like that of the Devil upon *Job*, hath made him *sore* all over.

With all your mighty Pretensions to Name and Fame in the Political World, how impolitically then have you acted, in thus taking the most effectual Means your Enemies could have recommended, to defeat your own Purpose, and rivet the Nail you undertook to draw? Had not you stept forth like another *Draw-canfir*, and defy'd the whole Nation, possibly we might have been so attentive to our present Calamities, as to have forgot our pass'd Disappointments: In which Case, both he who had robb'd the Public, and he who
com-

compounded the Felony, might have spun out the Rest of their Days, in that Obscurity, which was the most desirable Thing that could have befallen them : Whereas, Thanks to this impertinent, as well as outrageous *Volume* of yours, it is become necessary to defend the People against those who have *sold* and *betray'd* them ; and consequently, to drag certain obnoxious Characters again into Day-light, to strip them of the Masks and Disguises they have been so preposterously shrouded in, and expose them in their own naked Deformity,

In doing of which, if their Conduct is treated not only with Warmth, but with Bitterness, let them make their Acknowledgements to you, their indiscreet Apologist, who with so much Zeal, and so little Knowledge, have villify'd and aspers'd your Mother-Country, in order to disculpate the most unnatural of her Children.

Give me Leave, however, to deliver my Reader from the terrible Apprehensions they may possibly entertain, by this Time, of being led, against their Will, thro' every dirty Walk of your tedious Performance : I do not design to treat it in that piddling Manner ; nor is there any Necessity, that I should : Who is there that doth not see, that all the doctrinal Part of your Volume, which takes up full Half of the Whole, is a Jumble of Fallacies, drawn together for no other End, but to confound
and

and perplex the Simple, and delude the Unwary; to make Inconsistencies appear consistent, and authorise Conclusions which, however necessary to the Justification of your Principals, were to be deduc'd no other Way? Who is there that doth not see that you blanch nominal Whigs, and blacken nominal Tories, only to *revive* those hateful Distinctions? That, consequently, instead of exposing *Faction*, you endeavour to *foment* and *increase* it; in the vain Hope, that while our Attention became fix'd on Names, Sounds and Shadows, wicked Deeds and wicked Men would escape our Notice?

Such Artifices as these every Body can discern, every Body can explode; but the more dangerous Part of your *Volume*, the Misrepresentations and Forgeries it abounds with, every Body cannot discern, every Body cannot explode, (for Want of proper Lights into the Facts themselves) nor is every Body upon their Guard against: For when Lies walk abroad with the Air and Confidence of Truth, the Credulous cannot help giving them Entertainment; nor will even the Honest shut the Door against them, but suffer them to wait, in the Presumption, that Time may produce their Credentials, and authorize their Admittance.

To expose, therefore, these Forgeries and Misrepresentations of yours, shall be my principal Province: And if I prove you often a blind Guide, and always a treacherous and male-

malevolent one, I hope you will take Shame to yourself; or if Grace hath entirely forsook you, if you chuse rather to glory in your Infamy, I then hope that you will act the more heroic Part, of prefixing your Name to your Performance; in Virtue of which you will engross the whole Odium to yourself, as you ought, which is now improperly, if not injuriously, divided among several.

It is most fatally true, that Opposition hath been of long standing in this Kingdom: But then it is equally true, that it hath always been authoriz'd by the iniquitous Conduct of those in Power, and the real Grievances of the People: I make no Distinction of *Whig* or *Tory*-Administrations: All have made themselves justly obnoxious, and therefore all have been justly oppos'd.

It is true, likewise, that factious and designing Men have taken Advantage of the Oppressions committed on one Hand, and the Complaints utter'd on the other, to espouse the Cause of the Public, in order to make lucrative Bargains for themselves; have first taken the People by the Hand, and then trampled upon their Necks: Our Histories are full of such corrupt and infamous Examples: But we need not have Recourse to them; our own Times have furnish'd us with those that are infinitely more strong and conclusive. Our own Eyes have beheld Faction and Opposition
united

united : And, in the very Moment of Projection, we saw the First fly off, and the Last remain.

That Crisis is indeed the fiery Trial of a Patriot, when the Court bids for him against the People: Till then Counters may and will be current Coin: But when that Test hath discover'd the Fraud, when the Gilding vanishes, and palpable Brass stares us in the Face, we should be mad to suffer it to pass any longer for Sterling.

In plain *English*, when it appears that any Set of Men, of whatever Denomination, have bellow'd for their Country, only to find a Market for themselves, it must be allow'd the Plague of Faction is visibly among them, the Tokens are manifest, and it becomes the first Duty of all honest Men to separate themselves from their pestilent Society.

It is not, therefore, the *Whig* or *Tory*, *Jacobite*, or *Republican* Leaven that makes the Faction; but the Leaven of Hypocrisy and Venality; the proclaiming Redress of public Grievances, and meaning their own private Emolument. If I am to be sold, I care not by whom: If I am to wear a Yoke; I am indifferent whether it is the Manufacture, or after the Mode, of *Hanover* or *Rome*.

But I design to be more particular with you.

You are pleas'd to say, P. 6. *That the Criterion of a Whig-Conduct is to resist and re-*

duce, and the Criterion of a Tory-Faction, directly or indirectly, to assist, encourage, and support the Power of France. These are your Words; and the People from hence are directed to believe, that under a *Whig-Administration*, as under that of Providence, *whatever is, is right*. That, as we are now, or have lately been, upon the *Qui vive*, tho' not actually at War, with *France*, the present is a *Whig-Administration*, and that consequently all Opposition to the present Measures must arise from the *Tories*.

But it unluckily happens, that this limited Notion of *Whiggism* is not only entirely new, but entirely false: The true Criterion of a *Whig-Conduct*, as you phrase it, is to resist the Encroachments of the Prerogative, to reduce Ministerial Power, to stop the Progress of Corruption, to defend the Rights, Liberties, and Properties of the People, and to preserve the Constitution sound at Heart, as well as florid to the Eye: The Animosity of the *Whigs* to *France* arose from the Proposals of *France* to King *Charles II.* and his unhappy Brother to assist the Prerogative in destroying the Constitution: And if they afterwards were induc'd to make Reprizals upon *France*, it was still under the Pretence of being the more secure at Home.

To be free, to be secure at Home was then their End; to humble *France*, was only one
of

of the Means they took to obtain that Security to preserve that Freedom: Those, therefore, are only the true *Whigs*, if *Whig* is still a Name to be ambitious of, who fix their Eye on the old *English* Constitution in the first Place, and the Power of *France* in the second; and, without any Breach of Charity, one may venture to affirm, that such as endeavour to invert this Order, raise a Cry against *France*, only to call off our Attention, while they undermine the *English* Constitution, in order to bury every *Whiggish* Principle in the Ruins.

But if to *resist* and *reduce the Power of France*, is indeed the Sum Total of *Whiggish* Merit, Sir *W— W—*, and that whole Set of Men, who thought it meritorious to follow him, were, for a longer Time, as staunch *Whigs* as Mr. *P—* himself, when in his Meridian of Patriot-Glory, or any of those Satellites of his, who now dimly glimmer in the Pourlieus of the Court; and Sir *R— W—*, together with all his Implements, were, to all Intents and Purposes, *Tories*: For to humble or neglect the House of *Austria*, to humour or aggrandize the House of *Bourbon*, was the uniform Tenour of his whole long Administration; And to expose the Weakness and Wickedness of that Conduct was uniformly, likewise, the Endeavour of the *Opposition*: In the Prosecution of which, no Instance can be given, that those call'd *Tories*

did not keep an equal Pace with those call'd *Whigs*; consequently they were no longer liable to that reproachful Name; or else, to *assist, encourage, and support the Power of France, is not the Criterion of a Tory-Faction.*

But for God's Sake how came you to ground a Defence of the new Part of the Administration, on this ridiculous, exploded Jargon about *Whig* and *Tory*? Could you not remember that this was the Cant of the *Gazetteer, Free-Briton*, and almost all those other Papers and Pamphlets, which make so important an Item in the *Report of the Secret Committee*? Could you not recollect that the *late* Opposition, which you have taken so much foolish Pains to defend, was pelted with the very same Abuse, which you would stick upon the *Present*? That those very Persons whose Patronage and Countenance you so meanly, servilely, and yet vainly court, were, in particular, charg'd with going over to the Tories, and constantly voting in Conjunction with a Body of Men, sworn Enemies to Whigs, to Whig-Establishments, and to all Whig-Principles? And that one of them, who was then the *Lucifer*, and is now the *Sathan* of his Party, was pleas'd to express himself upon the Occasion, in a * Letter to the then most noble Minister, as follows?

* Answer to the Remarks on the *Craftsman's* Vindication.

‘ The

The senseless Distinction of *Whig* and *Tory*
 is, *God* be prais'd! almost sunk in a general
 Concern for the national Interest; and will,
 I hope, be soon entirely abolish'd, notwithstanding all YOUR ENDEAVOURS, FOR VILE
 ENDS, to keep those fatal Animosities alive.
 The *Whigs* who oppose you, are neither
 govern'd by the *Tories*, nor are the *Tories*
 govern'd by them; but they act in CONCERT
 together (AND MAY THEY LONG CONTINUE
 TO DO SO) because it is their united Opinion,
 that you are a wicked, as well as a weak
 Minister, and have almost brought this
 Nation to the Brink of Ruin.

Or if these Particulars, however extraordinary, had escap'd you, how could you possibly forget the joint Labours of so many Men of Genius, to prove, that a solid, well-understood, and well-cemented COALITION had actually taken Place; that *Whig* and *Tory* were no more, and that *Court* and *Country* were, for the future, to distinguish the Friends and Enemies of the People?

But I beg your Pardon. These plausible Stories of a *Coalition*, were, it seems, only one of those allowable, politic Frauds, which Party-Leaders press into their Service to make their Strength appear greater than it is, to render themselves more formidable to the Minister, to be held of more Importance to the People, &c. For in P. 16. after your frank Manner
 of

of *unmasking*, you roundly assure us: ' That
 ' the *Whigs*, tho' they could not refuse the
 ' Concurrence of their (the *Tories*) Votes,
 ' and their Assistance to swell the Number of
 ' Opponents, never *pretended*, or had any real
 ' Friendship with them.'

Indeed, you have here overshot yourself, for
 if they, the *Deserters*, have prov'd by their
Actions, that they had *no Friendship* for the
Tories, I have already prov'd by their *Words*,
 that they *pretended* it.

If, therefore, in this one Instance, it can be
 suppos'd that these Idols of yours deviated into
 Truth, it is yet farther apparent, that the Dust
 you raise about *Whig* and *Tory* is only to blind
 us; that you conjure up the Ghosts of these
 Factions, when the Life is departed; and
 that the present Opposition is no ways differ-
 ent from the Last, except, as observ'd before,
 that the Dross is purg'd off, and only the
 Gold remains.

Let me inform you farther, that the Craft of
 branding an Opposition by the odious Name
 of *Faction*, hath been put in Practise so often,
 and generally with such ill Success, that it
 ceases to be Craft, and deserves rather to be
 call'd Folly.

When several successive *Whig*-Parliaments,
 in the Reign of King *Charles II.* made such
 noble Stands against the Oppressions and Cor-
 ruptions of his scandalous Court, they were
 call'd

call'd a *Faction*; when all Parties, nay, the whole Nation, declar'd against the Violence and Tyranny of *James II.* the Reproach of *Faction* was fasten'd upon the whole Nation; nay, under our great DELIVERER, who ow'd the Crown he wore to a successful Opposition, all who were steady to their Principles, who continued to oppose whatever they could not approve, underwent the same Scandal; were upbraided in the same Terms, as if King *James* was still upon the Throne, and the *Revolution* no better than a Name.

But let us hear Dr. *D'avenant* on the Criterion of a *Faction*, and leave our Readers to judge for themselves.

'Tis true, such as would correct Errors, and watch that no Invasion be made on Liberty, have been heretofore call'd a *Faction*, by the Persons in Power; but 'tis not properly *their* Name, and ought to be given to another Sort of Men. 'Tis wrong to call them the *Faction*, who by all dutiful and modest Ways promote the Cause of *Liberty*, as the true Means to *endear* a Prince to his Subjects, and to lay upon them a stronger Tye and Obligation to preserve his Government. For a People will certainly best love and defend that Prince, by whom the greatest Immunities and most Good Laws have been granted. They cannot properly be term'd the *Faction*, who desire a *War* should be manag'd

' manag'd upon such a Foot of *Expende* as the
 ' Nation is *able to bear*: Who would have
 ' the public Treasure not wasted, the Prince
 ' not deceiv'd in his Grants and Bargains, who
 ' would have the Ministry watchful and in-
 ' dustrious, and who, when they complain,
 ' are angry with Things and not with Persons.
 ' The Name of *Faction* does more truly be-
 ' long to them, who, tho' the Body Politic
 ' has all the Signs of DEATH upon it, yet say
 ' ALL IS WELL, that the Riches of the Nation
 ' are not to be EXHAUSTED, that there is no
 ' MISGOVERNMENT in all its Business, that it
 ' feels no Decay, and that its OECONOMY is
 ' perfect, and who, all the while, are as *arro-*
 ' *gant* and *asuming* as if they had sav'd that
 ' very People, whom their Folly and mad
 ' Conduct has in a manner RUIN'D. They
 ' may be rather term'd the Faction, who
 ' were GOOD PATRIOTS out of the Court,
 ' but are BETTER COURTIERs in it, and
 ' who pretended to fear EXCESS OF POWER
 ' while it was not communicated to them,
 ' but never think the Monarchy can be HIGH
 ' ENOUGH ADVANC'D when they are in the
 ' Administration.*

I will close upon this Head with an Obser-
 vation which I leave you to digest as you may,
viz. That the present Royal Family owes
 their Succession to these Kingdoms not only

to

* *Davenant* of private Men's Duty in the Administration of
 public Affairs. Page 300.

to *Opposition* but *Resistance*; and I hope the People of *England* have not made a worse Bargain under their new Masters, than they had under their old.

I come now to two Passages in your *Volume*, which are so near a-kin, and tally so exactly, that I shall make but one Article of Both.

Page 18. you affirm, That ‘ the Conduct
‘ of the Minister with Regard to the Empe-
‘ ror, *Spain*, and *France*, at the Time of the
‘ *Hanover-Treaty*, which throwing this Na-
‘ tion into the Arms of *France*, and breaking
‘ off from our old and natural Connexion with
‘ the House of *Austria*, divided the *Whig-*
‘ Interest, and was the Ground of the late
‘ *Opposition*.

Again, before in P. 13. ‘ That it was the
‘ grand Principle of humbling *France* to which
‘ they adher’d, and which they intended to
‘ maintain by this *Opposition*. It was NOT
‘ a Quarrel about particular Laws or Altera-
‘ tions of the Constitution, as it is now falsely
‘ suggested to have been.

And now, before I proceed with my Animadversions, let me ask you, who is there that, on the bare reading of this sophistical Stuff, doth not perceive, that you never once think of Truth, but in order to falsify it, and that your whole Hypothesis is calculated only to excuse and palliate both what your Friends have done. and what they have left undone?

C

For

For, how could the *Hanover-Treaty* be the Ground of an *Opposition*, which was begun in the very first Session of the first Parliament, of *George I.* and which was in a manner provok'd by the very Words of the King's Proclamation, (as well as the after-Conduct of his Ministry) for summoning that Parliament, in which he recommended such Persons to be chosen as *had shew'd a Firmness to the Protestant Succession when it was most in Danger* (meaning such as call'd themselves *Whigs*) and likewise by the first Address of the House of Commons, in which the *Tories* are indirectly menac'd with the *Væ Victis*, which *Brennus* of old had thrown, together with his *Sword*, into the Scales, which were then weighing the Fate of *Rome*. I—

But you will, perhaps, tell us, you mean the *Whig-Part* of the *Opposition*: To which I answer, that in 1717, several of the Leading *Whigs* came over to, and became the Confederates of, the *Tories*; among whom Posterity will read the great Names of Messieurs *Walpole* and *Pulteney*, and this *Defection* of theirs, was not founded on any one Point in which *France* had the least Concern: But as they themselves gave out, in Resentment to the Favours lavish'd upon *Foreigners*, to express

• Their Enemies, indeed, reproached them on this Occasion, with a criminal Conspiracy, to force the Government to comply with their unreasonable Demands.

Vid. *The Defection consider'd.*
their

their Disapprobation and Abhorrence of *Hanover-Jobs*, and to be the Props and Buttresses of a falling Nation: Nay this *Confederate-Opposition* continued till the *South-Sea* Calamity open'd a Way for these *Occasional Patriots*, to make their Market again at Court: And yet, during that whole Interval, we find no remarkable Outcry rais'd about the growing Greatness of *France*; but, on the contrary, that we were too closely and intimately link'd in with the Emperor, to whose Interests we sacrific'd our own, as became notorious by our Rupture with *Spain* in 1718, and the Mischiefs which that Rupture hath entail'd upon us ever since.

But neither is this the Opposition you mean. — I confess it. But these Gentlemen call'd themselves *Whigs*, the *Whig-Principles* are always the same, and an *Opposition* in which the Power of *France* is consider'd but in the second Place, is to the full as justifiable now, as it could be then.

And now for your Opposition, which, you tells us, ow'd its Origin to the Treaty of *Hanover*: And you have craftily fix'd the Commencement of it here, because it favours your grand Conclusion, That all that your Friends aim'd at, both *in Power* and *out*, was to humble *France*. — But here again you seem to have unfortunately forgot the Proceedings in Parliament, with Regard to the *Civil List Debts*, which in the Year 1721 were saddled upon the

People: Upon which Occasion Mr. *P* again fell in with the *Tories* and oppos'd the Court with almost as much Vehemence as Mr. *Shippen* himself.

As likewise that during the same Session another *Whig*-Member, Lord *Molesworth*, took Occasion, from the late Treaty with *Sweden*, to expose all our foreign Measures in the North, by declaring they were inconsistent with each other, and that we were become the Allies of the whole World, and the Bubbles of all our Allies; bearing very hard on the Guaranty of *Sleswick* and the Acquisition of *Bremen* and *Verden*, affirming that *England* ought not to intermeddle in the Affairs of the Empire, and that naval Stores, especially *Hemp*, which he alledg'd was a very necessary Commodity at that Juncture, was all our Business in the *Baltic*.

We have here *Whig*-Evidence, that in the Year 1721, our Affairs were not well conducted either *Abroad* or *at Home*, and Proof of an Opposition made to Measures, in which *France* had not the least Concern.

But possibly you will urge the Proverb, *That one Swallow doth not make a Summer*; that Lord *Molesworth* you never once thought of, and that your great *Primum mobile* Mr. *P*— was so far, as yet, from being a Confederate with the *Tories*, that we find him afterwards contending for the Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*-Act, a Manager against the Bishop of *Rochester*.

Rochester, and acting in all Respects as a Man in Office should.

All which is very true, and likewise that he had a Present of the Parliament-Journals from His Majesty, by way of Acknowledgement. But tho' employ'd and rewarded, he did not continue long satisfy'd; for, the *Necessities* of *His Majesty's Government*, having oblig'd him to make a *new Demand* upon his People, in Aid of the *Civil List*, Mr. P—— renew'd his Opposition with more Vigour than ever, and continued it thro' every Step of that pernicious Affair, except the last, when he condescended to give his Vote for what he had before inveigh'd against; having been overcome, as he himself confesses, by the Force of Royal Eloquence.

See his own Narrative of his Opposition and Conversion, as follows.

' There is one Circumstance in this Affair,
' which hath never yet been explain'd to the
' World; and upon which the Enemies of
' *this Gentleman* have triumph'd extremely;
' as if He was naturally of an *unsteady* Tem-
' per; or that They had, at length, found out
' Means to gain Him over; for, after the Op-
' position He had given to this Affair in every
' Step of it, He voted, in the *last* * *Instance*,

* Notwithstanding which *critical* Piece of Complaisance, he was depriv'd of his *Cofferer's* Place, at the End of that very Session, which fix'd him a staunch Patriot, as we all remember, till the Distresses of the late Minister call'd him once more to Court.

' FOR

' FOR the Question. The Truth of that Af-
 ' fair is this. The late King had of himself,
 ' or as He was advised by his Ministers, fre-
 ' quently try'd the Gentleman on this Point,
 ' and hoped to persuade Him to be for it.
 ' He used all the Arguments He could; urged
 ' to Him all the Motives he thought could
 ' possibly engage him; but all to no Purpose.
 ' He continued inflexible. At length, the
 ' King said to Him, *it is hard you will not let*
 ' *me be an honest Man. What would you, con-*
 ' *tinued his Majesty, think yourself of one, who*
 ' *refused to pay his Butcher, his Baker, and*
 ' *other honest Tradesmen?*—To this the Gen-
 ' tleman reply'd, not a little affected with his
 ' Majesty's last Argument, *God forbid that He*
 ' *should prevent his Majesty from acting such*
 ' *an honest Part. It was not his Intention.*
 ' *What He meant to do was consistent with*
 ' *his Duty as a Servant to his Majesty, and*
 ' *agreeable to his Duty as a Representative*
 ' *of the People. He meant only to expose that*
 ' *unnecessary Profusion, which had been made of*
 ' *Secret-service Money, Pensions, &c. that*
 ' *the Money, which should have paid his honest*
 ' *Tradesmen, was by these Means diverted.*
 ' His View therefore was to get a CENSURE
 ' of such Practices, and to prevent their be-
 ' coming Precedents.'

We have here an Acknowledgment, that to
 put a Stop to the Progress of Corruption was
 the Ground of your Opposition, and a Decla-
 ration,

ration, that the Debts on the Civil List were owing to Ministerial Profusion.

Now this second *Civil-List-Job*, was negotiated in Parliament, *April* 8th, 1725, and the Treaty of *Hanover* was not sign'd till *September* 3d, nor debated in Parliament till *Feb.* 16th, 1725-6 : So that you have either committed a very gross Mistake, or been guilty of a most outrageous Falshood, in founding the late Opposition, as you do, on the Treaty of *Hanover* ONLY.

Thus we have prov'd *one* of your *Heroes* to have been in Opposition long before that fatal Measure took Place : And as to the *Other*, to whom we are oblig'd for the boasted *Rectification* of our *Foreign Affairs*, he was so far from declaring *against* the Court at that Time, that he distinguish'd himself as a *Champion* FOR it, and continued to speak and vote with the *Ministerial Herd*, for a long Time after.

Again, why from this particular *Æra* must it be call'd a *Whig-Opposition*? Not surely because of the great Numbers, of that Party which did Mr. P—— the Honour to follow where he led the Way : The Majority of those, who voted with him, were, for a long while after, such as had been call'd *Tories* ; and as to their Conduct, it was essentially the same before the Confederacy, as after : For one Part of the House had been uniformly for the Court,

and

and the other for the People; and no Opportunity had been lost, of exposing bad Measures, or complaining of Grievances, or endeavouring to obtain Redress: *Annual Motions* for *Place* and *Pension Bills*, it is true, were reserv'd to do Honour to the great Names you have espous'd; and it hath been your peculiar Glory to inform the World, That those Heroes of yours never so much as intended to carry them; for which extreme Candour and Ingenuity, I make no Question but you will have your Reward.

But you tell us, the *Quarrel* of this joint Opposition was NOT about *particular Laws*, or *Alterations* of *the Constitution*—Not to alter the *Constitution*, I agree with you; but to restore it, who but you hath the Confidence to dispute? And what *Englishman's* Blood doth not boil with Indignation, when he reads that profligate Assertion, *That it was not a Quarrel about particular Laws?* Who could have conceiv'd it possible, that a Man so abandon'd could have been found, who would have dar'd to impose so gross a Falshood, on a People so well inform'd of every public Measure, as the People of *Great-Britain?*

In the Name of *God*, what were our perpetual Struggles against Standing-Armies, Foreign Subsidies, Votes of Credit, *Hanover-Jobs*, General Excises, Violations of the Sinking-Fund, Exorbitant Taxes, Governing by Parties

ties, oppressive Laws, and every other Ingredient, that was necessary to make up one comprehensive SYSTEM of Corruption above, and Slavery below?

Have you then the Assurance to say, that our Opposition upon these, and such like interesting Points, *was not a Quarrel about particular Laws*, (or what is worse, the uniform ABUSE of the LEGISLATIVE POWER) was not meant to *restore* the Constitution?

YOU HAVE, and you are, I hope, the only Man in the three Kingdoms, that will do the same.

And now what should hinder me from throwing down my Pen, and appealing to the impartial World, whether so prostitute a Tool deserves any farther Notice?

If I did, what Reader would not say, that I had done enough? That I had prov'd your Book to be the Work of a Lying Spirit, and, consequently, that utter Darknesh would soon be its Portion?

But you shall not escape me so easily: As you are, to all Intents and Purposes, a *Vagrant* in Politics, whom all Parties, nay, all Factions have disown'd, and, as I have, for once, taken upon me the Office of a Beadle, I will lay on the Scourge in Earnest; and, whoever you are, you shall carry the Marks to your Grave.

To proceed, then, you are pleas'd to say, P. 16. that ' They, the *Tories*, endeavour'd, ' by refusing to concur in *several* personal

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' Pro-

‘ Propositions against the Minister, *to try* whe-
 ‘ ther they could not induce him to strike a
 ‘ *separate Bargain* with themselves; and, at
 ‘ the Close of the Opposition, in the first Ses-
 ‘ sion of this Parliament, when they (the *To-*
 ‘ *ries* still) adher’d *more* firmly to these perso-
 ‘ nal Propositions, they (the *Whigs*) knew it
 ‘ was, because the Minister had not catch’d at
 ‘ the Bait, they had thrown out for him, and
 ‘ was not to be deluded by their Aims.’

You farther tell us, in some Twenty Places
 of your Volume, ‘ That the plain Origin and
 ‘ avow’d Views of the Opposition, were the
 ‘ Removal of the Minister, and the Change of
 ‘ his Measures, (*with Regard to France, that*
 ‘ *is to say*) that when this was done, they,
 ‘ from the very *Beginning* of the Opposition,
 ‘ intended no more, nor were ever expected to
 ‘ maintain it longer; that it would have been
 ‘ inconsistent with their *avow’d Professions*,
 ‘ and with their real Principles, if they had.’

Now what a most inconsiderate Thing are
 you, to undertake to raise an Edifice, without
 once examining the Foundation? Could you
 not feel a Quick-sand under your Feet, which
 would not bear even a House of Cards?

Read what follows; (the very Words of Mr.
 P—— himself, in his Epistle to the late most
 noble Minister) and either acknowledge your
 Ignorance, or blush, if possible, for being de-
 tected in such a Complication of Falshoods.

‘ The Distress, in which you have involv’d
 ‘ your-

‘ yourself, hath oblig’d you to tamper with
 ‘ several Gentlemen in the *Opposition*, and to
 ‘ put your own vile Glosses on these Negotia-
 ‘ tions, when you have fail’d in them. This
 ‘ hath induc’d them to *consult one another* upon
 ‘ this Head. I believe the Acquisitions, which
 ‘ you have lately made amongst them, will
 ‘ give you no additional Strength, or Credit;
 ‘ and it will be in vain for you to make any
 ‘ farther Attempts; for know, Sir, that they
 ‘ are come to a *determin’d Resolution*, and it is
 ‘ a *Measure taken amongst them*, not to listen to
 ‘ any *Treaty* of this Kind whatsoever, or from
 ‘ whomsoever it may come, in which the first
 ‘ and principal *Condition* shall not be to *deliver*
 ‘ you up to the *Justice of your Country*.

‘ You will probably call this a wicked Com-
 ‘ bination, and Association against you. No,
 ‘ Sir, it is an honest Resolution to vindicate
 ‘ the *Honour* and assert the *Laws* of our Coun-
 ‘ try. Your Crimes have made it necessary to
 ‘ enter into this Agreement, that all the World
 ‘ may see, and be convinc’d, on what Foot
 ‘ the *Opposition* is form’d; that it is against
 ‘ You, and You only, as a *wicked Minister*; and
 ‘ that the *same Things* may not be *expected*
 ‘ from THEM, if any of Them should ever
 ‘ come into Employment, which your Con-
 ‘ duct hath render’d almost *Maxims of Policy*.
 ‘ An ALTERATION of *Ministers* would be of
 ‘ little Service to the Public. AN ALTERA-

‘ TION of MEASURES is the Thing expected
 ‘ and requir’d; and nothing can secure us so
 ‘ effectually against the *same Malversations* for
 ‘ the Future, as the *exemplary Punishment* of
 ‘ You, who have brought such *irreparable*
 ‘ *Mischiefs* on your Country.

‘ Don’t flatter yourself, Sir, that This is a
 ‘ rash, unadvis’d Measure, taken on a sudden,
 ‘ in a Fit of *personal Resentment*. No, it pro-
 ‘ ceeds from nobler Motives, and is the Result
 ‘ of Hearts warm with a Zeal for the public
 ‘ Service. It is taken with a Design to prevent
 ‘ all *clandestine Negotiations* or *secret Bar-*
 ‘ *gains*, which may be attempted by *yourself*,
 ‘ or any *other Person* whatever, for your *Re-*
 ‘ *treat* and *Security*.’

ANSWER TO THE REMARKS, Page 47, 48.

Have we not here the most strong and au-
 thentic Declaration possible, deliver’d by the
 Mouth of the *Whig-Party*, that the *Punishment*
 of the *Minister*, and not merely his *Removal*,
 was the great End of the Opposition, in order
 to vindicate the *Honour*, and assert the LAWS
 of our Country? Is it not apparent, from the
 same undeniable Evidence, that the *Tories*
 came into this *personal Proposition*, as well as
 the *Whigs*? Was it not most reasonable they
 should, when assur’d that the said *Minister*
 was to be punish’d not only for the *irreparable*
Mischiefs he had caus’d, but that his *Successors*
 might be terrify’d by his *Example*? And are
 not

not at all these Particulars distinctly specify'd, without the least Hint of the Power of *France*, or the *Balance of Europe*; which, if your Authority is to be depended upon, are of more Consequence to old *England* than *Magna Charta* itself?

As long, therefore, as Justice seem'd to be the Point of Sight, and not Ambition or Revenge, as long as the *Whigs* acted as Prosecutors in the Cause of the Nation, not their own, as long as they had in View the Grievances of the Subject, as well as the Author of them, and held the Removal of one, a Matter of little Consequence, unless they could also remove the other, we find the *Tories* as forward in *personal Propositions* as the *Whigs*; and that with much greater Provocations to urge in their Excuse; if any Excuse had been necessary to qualify, or palliate an honest Endeavour to redeem their Country.

But the *Tories*, at least some of them, refus'd to concur in one *personal Proposition*, which was made afterwards --- the *Motion* for an Address to remove Sir *R* --- *W* ---. They did so; and, in order to explain the Reasons why they did so, it is necessary to put you in Mind of a very remarkable Incident, which happen'd before that Motion was made. — I mean the *Secession*, when both *Whigs* and *Tories*, having, from long and fatal Experience, been convinc'd, that their Presence in Parliament serv'd only
to

to countenance Measures, which they could neither prevent nor punish, jointly resolv'd to withdraw themselves from the guilty Scene; that the present Age might be convinc'd of the desperate State of the Commonwealth, and that Posterity might know, that what should be afterwards transacted there, the People had had no Share in, nor given any Authority to.

This noble Measure, I say, was jointly resolv'd upon by the *Whig* and *Tory*-Members of the Opposition; and the great Leader of the First, in particular, did, in his old Way, with many damning Oaths declare, That he would never return to Parliament any more: Notwithstanding which, the next Session no sooner approach'd, but, with his usual Stediness, he again resolv'd, to do the Reverse of what he had sworn: And, rather than break the Party, rather than utterly extinguish the Hopes of the People, Sir *W*———*W*———, tho' not without the greatest Importunities from their common Friends, was prevail'd upon to countenance, by his Example, a Fickleness, which he could never be brought to relish or approve.

Here then we have the Clue to the true Reason, why some of the *Tories* deserted their Allies upon the *Motion* before quoted: To see so solemn a Farewell, follow'd by so sudden, so abrupt, and so unaccountable a Return, gave the first Suspicion, that the *Designing* or
Aspiring

Aspiring among the *Whigs*, had some private and selfish Views at Bottom, which was far from being lessen'd by a Motion, that profess'd only to *remove* a Minister, not to *punish* him, and which hath since been sufficiently warrant-ed by the blessed Fruits that, in the Fulness of Time, his *Removal* brought forth.

Sensible, therefore, that the public Grievances had a much deeper Root than the Life or Reign of one Man, that as long as the Horse was bridled and saddled, any Body might ride him, they resolv'd not to countenance a Measure, that had, or seem'd to have, rather the Cast of private Artifice, than public Justice.

As, however, at the Time of this *Motion*, no positive Proofs of the selfish Views of the *Whig*-Leaders had escap'd, and consequently, the *Tories*, who dissented upon that Occasion, had contented themselves with barely excusing their own Conduct, without arraigning that of their Allies, it was natural for both Parties to slide back into their former Union again, to act in Concert as before, and mutually to declare, That they would lose no real Opportunity which might offer to save the Commonwealth.

Know then, that it was to this, the after-Zeal, Firmness, and Preseverance of the *Tories* was owing, and not as you, falsely and maliciously, give out, to the late Minister's *refusing*
their

their Service. *God* knows, and all the World knows, he was reduc'd to such a Plunge, that he would have greedily laid hold on any Hand which had been stretch'd out to save him. — We saw him do so; and we such a *separate Bargain* actually struck, as you have the Assurance to assert, the *Tories* endeavour'd to try (your own elegant Phrase) to procure for themselves.

I come now to the *Portrait* you have been pleas'd to give us of the late *Minister*, and your *History-Piece* of his Administration, in which you have laid out your whole little Stock of Cunning, and with which you have the Vanity and Folly to think you can deceive the World.

This Concession to your Cunning you may perhaps interpret into a civil Thing. — Do so. It is the highest Complement I can pay you; but withal it is such as your Enemy would not envy you; if he thinks, as I do, that a Man who has too little, or too much Cunning, is the foolishhest of all *God's* Creatures.

It is fit, however, that I should point out wherein this Cunning of yours consists: For when you have Proof that you are found out, you will feel yourself disappointed: And I should be sorry if you had not the Mortification to be made sensible, That you are not Fowler good enough, to ensnare a Nation.

Be it remembred then, that you employ no less than Eighteen of your enormous Pages to point out the *Blunders ONLY*, not the *wilfull Transgressions*, of our late Minister in *foreign Affairs*; which may be summ'd up in one Article, *viz.* The contributing to destroy the Balance of *Europe*, by taking Weight out of the *Austrian* Scale, and throwing it into that of *Bourbon*: And this you do, in order to warrant and justify that Opposition, which you have taken upon you to defend; and likewise, to insinuate, that the *Deserters* from it have fulfill'd their Obligations to the Public, by having advis'd and further'd all the mighty GERMAN, I cannot call them *Austrian*, Feats which have been perform'd since they were admitted into the Cabinet.

But, tho' you have expatiated thus largely on our *foreign Affairs*, you have kept a dead Silence with regard to our DOMESTIC: Of Civil List Complements, of Civil List Profusions, of Parliamentary Juggles, of fraudulent Contracts, of Navy Debts, and Army Debentures, of General Excises, of Standing Armies in Time of Peace, of Monopolies of Power, of insupportable Taxes, of the public Wealth diverted into private Channels, of ministerial *Will* and *Pleasure* avow'd in the FACE OF PARLIAMENT, and ministerial Insolence, made manifest in repeated Affronts, offered to the whole People, you drop not a

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Syllable

Syllable--And the Reason is exceedingly plain; our Injuries remain'd unaveng'd, our Grievances unredress'd; and to have mention'd either, would have been to have conjur'd up a Devil, whom it had been impossible to lay. Abroad, indeed, Affairs have been so *Janus-fac'd*, that a very little Art, with the Help of a thorough Confidence, might have equip'd them, at least for a little while, with the *Fairest*: But, at Home, all Things remain as they were; or to speak more properly, from *bad* have become *worse*: And this is so universally known and felt, that even you, who seem incapable of boggling at any thing, could not adventure to make out, that our Expectations upon any of these Heads, had been answer'd by the late *Change*!

It is in this consists your CUNNING; for as to your *Modesty*, a Committee of *Enquiry*, arm'd with all the Powers, which were *deny'd* the Last, could not find it out: Witness the two following Paragraphs, which I have copied from your Volume, *verbatim*.

‘ The People, not considering well the
 ‘ Spring of this unhappy Train of Conduct,
 ‘ have been *falsely* and *infamously* taught, that
 ‘ it took its Rise from the *Treachery* of the
 ‘ Minister, and from a low and private *Preju-*
 ‘ *dice* in the Prince to his *Foreign Dominions*,
 ‘ abetted by a Band of *corrupt Mercenaries*,
 ‘ and supported by the Defects of a Constitu-
 ‘ tion,

‘ tion, which gave *too much* Power to the
 ‘ Crown—NONE OF WHICH IS TRUE.

‘ It was the Embarrassment of our Affairs
 ‘ by the Peace of *Utrecht*, a timid, obstinate,
 ‘ and PERHAPS selfish Character in the Mini-
 ‘ ster—It was the unavoidable Consequences
 ‘ of the Treaty of *Hanover*, which was made
 ‘ before his Majesty's *Succession* to the Throne,
 ‘ for which he was, therefore not *answerable*,
 ‘ and which it was very difficult to remedy.
 ‘ It was a Chain of Circumstances, neither
 ‘ deriv'd from a greater Degree of Corruption
 ‘ than will be found in any opulent State upon
 ‘ *Earth*, nor from any Defects, but what (or
 ‘ worse) must exist in the purest Constitution
 ‘ under *Heaven*, p. 35.

Well said! If you vote as plumb as you write, as I dare lay my Life you do, you bid fair to be a very great Man.

But pray who were those that so *falsely* and *infamously* taught the People to ascribe their Misfortunes to the Particulars specify'd in the first of these Passages? Were not the Teachers of these *false* and *infamous* Doctrines the *very Men*, whom you have so officiously taken upon you to defend?

One of the *Principal* of them I find charg'd, in a Pamphlet of *Arnal's* (suppos'd to be written by the Direction of the late Minister) with declaring it for his Opinion, *That not one Treaty, signed within these sixteen Years,*

was even made or so much as intended for the Good of this Kingdom.

To which that meek Man was pleas'd to reply as follows.

‘ I heartily wish, not for your Sake, but for the Good of the Public, that there may not be *too much Truth* in this Declaration; which can appear only by a particular Examination of *those Treaties*; and this cannot be done at present.

But, in order to aggravate the Guilt of this Declaration, it is added *that the Gentleman accus'd formerly, voted those very Treaties honourable, and asserted those Alliances to be necessary, which he now condemns.*—This is another downright Falshood. He is not answerable for any of those *filly Treaties*, which the Course of *sixteen Years* hath produced. As He had no Share in the Negotiation of them, so it never fell in his Way, till very lately, to express any Opinion of them in Parliament. Whilst He was in *Employment*, his *Business* was of another Nature, and He is at full Liberty to declare, without any Inconsistency, that not ONE of the *Treaties*, made within this Time, would have been *necessary*, if it was not for his Majesty's *German Dominions*. The *first Treaty*, that was made, in the Year 1716, was for the Sake of the *Emperor's general Guaranty of all Dominions*,
which

' which each of the contracting Parties possessed
 ' at that Time. What Use could the Empe-
 ' ror's Guaranty be of to the *British Domi-*
 ' *nions*, or the *Protestant Succession*? We live
 ' in an Island, of great maritime Force, and
 ' can support *our selves* and *our own Posses-*
 ' *sions*, without any other Guaranty than the
 ' Affections of the People.—But the *Empe-*
 ' *ror's Guaranty* is apparently of the utmost
 ' Service to his Majesty's FOREIGN DOMI-
 ' NIONS.—The *Quadruple Alliance*, was form'd
 ' when *this Gentleman* was abroad; and ALL
 ' that plentiful Crop of *Treaties*, which hath
 ' been produced since, are of but very little
 ' Use to *Great-Britain*.

ANSWER TO THE REMARKS, P. 20, 21.

So much, at present, for the *Foreign Domi-*
nions, and now for the Article of *Corruption*.

When the *Motion*, before spoken of, against
 the late *Minister* was made, a *now* Right Ho-
 nourable Gentleman, who brought on the
 Charge, omitted no one Circumstance or Ar-
 gument which had any Tendency to prove,
 that he carry'd all his Points, by *prostituting the*
Favours of the Crown, for obtaining a corrupt
Majority in Parliament.

Another Gentleman, of yet greater Emi-
 nence in the Political World, Mr. P. went
 farther still, and declar'd, that the said *Mini-*
ster seem'd to have laid it down as a Rule, to
 govern by the *SOLE Means of Bribery and Cor-*
ruption. And

And again, speaking of the Sinking Fund, He gave us to understand, that the Produce of it had not been faithfully apply'd, nor our Taxes abolish'd, *because it would have very much lessen'd the Minister's Fund for Corruption.*

A noble Lord, likewise, now become the *Hero of the Closet*, when a Motion of the same Nature was made in another Place, was pleas'd, in his introductory Speech, to express himself to the following Purpose: ' That the same Minister had had the Misfortune, by his Conduct, to propagate and establish a general Opinion, thro' the Nation; that *Corruption* is the only Art of Government he understands; that by *corrupt* Means, he gets his Creatures and Tools chosen at most of the Elections in the Kingdom; that BOTH HOUSES of Parliament are induc'd by a *corrupt Influence* to approve of his Measures; and that the *public Money* is squander'd away, for the Sake of gaining him a *legal Support.*'

I do not quote these Passages by way of Authority for the *false and infamous* Doctrine, as you call it, which hath been taught concerning the *foreign Dominions*, and *corrupt Mercenaries*: Whatever is true, carries with it its own Authority; and when we say, the Sun shines at Noon, no body expects us to prove it: But I do it purely to shew, that you are one of the most unlucky Apologists that ever took

took up a Pen: For who but you would have been caught, thus giving the LYE to the leading Men of the very Junto, that you are labouring so hard to bleach as white as Snow, and branding them with Infamy, in the very Instant, that you are endeavouring to render them immortal?—Poor Devil!—I almost pity thee.

I should in this Place bestow a Moment on what you so *craftily* urge in your second Paragraph, concerning the Treaty of *Hanover*. But so much remains behind, that I have only Room to say; that granting the said Treaty was made before his present Majesty's Accession to the Throne, it was not made *before* the late *Minister* was in his *Plenitude* of Power; so that if the *Former* was not answerable for it, the *Latter* was.

I have done with your *History-Piece* of the late Administration, and now I come to your *Portrait* of the Minister himself; in which we meet with another Instance of that admirable Cunning, for which it is my sincere Desire, that you should become famous. For, as in your *History-Piece*, you take care to say no more than will barely serve to justify your Opposition, so in your *Portrait* you make use of no other Touches than will serve to soften his Features, nor Colours, than will render his Complexion as clear as possible. In two Words, your whole Art is to shew him *guilty*
enough

enough to authorize Opposition, but not guilty enough to deserve Punishment.

What I call your *Portrait* of this *Minister*, is that Part of your Book, in which you endeavour to qualify all you have said against him before, by not only accounting for what he did, but even entering into his very *Thoughts*; *proper* Authority for which you could not have had from any body but HIMSELF: Whence may be fairly gather'd, that the great End you have in View is, to shew that *both Parts* of the *Administration* are at the *Bottom* of a piece; and, consequently, that you would have it understood to be their Interest, to stand and fall together: Who should *corrupt*, not whether *Corruption* should be rooted out, having been the *sole* Dispute between them.

It is no Wonder, therefore, to find the poor Treaty of *Utrecht* lugg'd in to the *Portrait* of the Minister, as well as the *History-piece* of his Conduct, to serve, like the *Devil* in an Indictment, to bear the Blame of the Criminal; to find him disculpated of any *corrupt Engagements with foreign Powers*, upon which Ground ALONE, you tell us, *the PUBLIC think it WARRANTABLE to pursue him to Destruction*: It is no Wonder, that you represent his *pacific Obstinacy*, for so you call it, as in a manner *necessary*, both to himself and his *Country*, that you tell us he foresaw, that we should
not

not be satisfied with our *own War*, on Account of the *bare Expences*, and the *various Accidents* it would create; as, likewise, that the *Majority of an Opposition* would even *mispresent the Conduct of their own Plan*; and that, however *scandalous* it was for a *NATION* to *press its Government into Measures*, and to *desert them when engag'd*, the *Majority of the NATION too*, would have no *Scruples* to do it notwithstanding; you add, that he justly fear'd a *Whig-Opposition would end in a Tory-Faction*, and that he dreaded from that *Faction* what every wise and honest Man dreads from it, at this *Conjuncture*, &c.

This you tell us was the *whole* Mystery of his *UNFORTUNATE* Administration; after which you sum up all that can be urg'd against him, in *two Follies and one Fault*, viz. Folly the first. *That he govern'd upon a System, prudent for a petty State, but very improper for a Country which bears so great a Sway, and ought to take the Lead in Europe.* Folly the second. *That he did not yield sooner to an EVIL (the OPPOSITION) which gather'd Strength, and became more dangerous by the Delay, &c.* And for his *ONLY FAULT*, it lay, you tell us, ' in his Fondness to continue in his Power, his ' Partiality to himself, his Conceit of his own ' Abilities, his Fear of his own personal Safety, ' all which induc'd him, or misled him to ' *MISTAKE* the true Interest of his Royal
F Master

‘ Master and his Country; and drove him to
 ‘ make use of *every Means* of *Ministerial*
 ‘ *Influence*, to STRAIN every NERVE of that
 ‘ POWER, allotted by the Wisdom of our An-
 ‘ cestors, for the *Security of Government* and
 ‘ apply that *Force* to his OWN DEFENCE: By
 ‘ which he has brought the *necessary Guards*
 ‘ of our Constitution into *Disrepute*, and has
 ‘ establish’d in many an Opinion, and a Sus-
 ‘ picion in more; that our Constitution
 ‘ is *impair’d*, whereas, in Truth, it has only
 ‘ been *abus’d*.

And, lest this *one Fault* should leave too
 strong an Impression upon your Readers, you
 soften all again, by adding, ‘ Never was Man
 ‘ in private Life more beloved, and his worst
 ‘ Enemies allow no Man did ever in private
 ‘ Life deserve it more. P. 6c, 61, 62.

And again:

‘ This Character naturally procur’d that
 ‘ Attachment to his Person, which has been
 ‘ *falsely* attributed solely to a *corrupt Influence*
 ‘ and to *private Interest*.

It would be endless to point out all the
 Falshoods, Absurdities and Contradictions con-
 tain’d in this precious PROFILE; but some of
 the most striking Parts of it I should hold my
 self inexcusable, to leave *uncorrected*.

For Example, on the Head of *corrupt En-
 gagements with foreign Powers*, I must take
 Leave to say, that till *Hanover* is *naturaliz’d*,
 I

I shall always esteem it a *foreign Power*: If, therefore, he had ever enter'd into *corrupt Engagements* with *that Power*, if he ever sacrific'd the Interest of the *Kingdom* to the Interest of the *Electorate*; but more especially if he did it *always*, as hath been lay'd to his Charge (and as we have already proved) by the *Deserters* themselves, he stood within the Reach of your own *Measure* of Guilt, in those remarkable Words, *upon which Ground alone, the Public think it warrantable to pursue him to Destruction*, and he ought most certainly to have fallen a Sacrifice to it.

But this very *Measure* of Guilt which you have had the Boldness to ascribe to the *Public*, let me tell you they utterly disown; on the contrary, the *Public* is firmly of Opinion, that Treason may be committed against the State, at *Home* as well as *Abroad*, and that it is as *criminal* to sell the Commonwealth to our *own Sovereign*, as to the Sovereign of any other Country.

The *Public* likewise disdain the Insinuation which you have father'd upon the *late Minister*, that they would *desert* the Government when embark'd in Measures of *their own*: You know there is not the least Ground for it: You know that the People have not, even yet, clamour'd for a Peace with *Spain*, tho' they have so much Reason to conclude they shall get nothing by the War; nor murmur'd at the

Expence of it, tho' that Expence, except in a very few Instances, hath been thrown away: Nay, you know they have even submitted to Measures which they neither *press'd* nor could approve; and for which no better Reason could be assign'd, than that they were already in Execution, and therefore ought to be supported.

Again: The *Public* cannot be persuaded to see any Difference, between the *abusing* and *impairing* a *Constitution*: On the contrary, they assert, that, in Proportion as *Abuses* multiply and derive Authority from Custom, a *Constitution* becomes *impair'd*; of which no greater nor stronger Proof can be given, than, that it should be granted, that *irreparable Mischiefs* have been done to the Commonwealth, and yet that it is impossible to saddle any one Person with the Guilt: That *Constitution*, I am sure, must either be a most miserable one in itself, or must have been most miserably corrupted, in which there is no *Punishment* for Wickedness in *high Places*, nor *Justice* for the *Public*, whenever so *flagrantly* and *notoriously* *injur'd*.

You, yourself, are forced to confess, P. 63. That the late Minister *had violated the Interests of his Country, and trespass'd upon the Power in his Hands*--But then you add, *that he had not expos'd himself to the Penalty of any one known Law*—That is to say, for all he

he had done, however vile and scandalous, he had found Means to procure the Sanction of Parliament.

And is not the Door still open for every other Minister to do the same? Is our Condition one Jot the better, because the very Power which ought to have punish'd the Criminal, hath authoris'd the Crime? Is a *Constitution* of this Cobweb-Kind to be call'd a *happy one*? And is it worth a second Thought, whether a Craziness or Flimsiness is owing to Abuse or Depravity, Perversion or Corruption?

But what I have farther to say upon this Subject, I will chuse to express in the excellent Words of another noble Lord, *lately* in the Opposition, but now at *Court*, who, when the *Motion* relating to the late *Minister*, was under Deliberation, deliver'd himself as follows:

' In former Times, the Crown had but *very little Money*, and *very few lucrative Places*,
' to dispose of, therefore, they could never
' carry Corruption such a Length as to affect
' our *Elections*; and if they, by that Means,
' secured at any Time a Majority in Parliament, this Majority was daily *decaying* by
' the new Elections going mostly against the
' Court Party. This laid them under a Necessity of making their Attacks upon the
' Constitution, by stretching the Prerogatives
' of the Crown beyond their just Bounds, and
' this

‘ this always gave the People an immediate
 ‘ and a general Alarm. But now Corruption
 ‘ may be carried such a Length as to affect
 ‘ *most* of the *Elections* in the Kingdom; and
 ‘ therefore it would be ridiculous in an ambi-
 ‘ tious or wicked Minister to carry on his
 ‘ Attacks upon our Constitution by any other
 ‘ Means. If none of the Prerogatives of the
 ‘ Crown are now stretched beyond their due
 ‘ Bounds: If no Severities are made use [of
 ‘ against particular Persons: If a greater Indul-
 ‘ gence be allowed both in writing and speak-
 ‘ ing, than was allow’d in former Times: If
 ‘ the private Property of no Man be invaded
 ‘ or encroached on contrary to Law: we are
 ‘ *not* from thence to judge that our Constitution
 ‘ is in *no Danger*; for if a Minister can al-
 ‘ ways *secure* a *Majority* in *Parliament*, and
 ‘ thereby have what *Laws* he thinks *proper*,
 ‘ and whatever *Sums* of Money he *pleases*, with-
 ‘ out *Account*, it would be ridiculous in him to
 ‘ make use of any of these alarming Methods,
 ‘ or to give himself any Trouble about what
 ‘ may be said or wrote against him. He de-
 ‘ pends upon what he can GIVE, and not upon
 ‘ what he can SAY, for an Approbation of
 ‘ every Thing he proposes; and therefore, he
 ‘ has no Occasion to trouble his Head about
 ‘ what is said or wrote against it. And as he
 ‘ may have by *Act of Parliament* what *Share*
 ‘ he pleases of the *Property* of *every Man* in
 ‘ the

‘ the Kingdom, he has no Occasion to invade
 ‘ the Property of any *particular* Man.

‘ This, my Lords, has often made me wonder at the Weakness of some People, who cry,
 ‘ How can your Liberties be in Danger, when
 ‘ the private Property of no Man is invaded?
 ‘ When the Liberty of the Press is indulged as
 ‘ much as it ever was in this, or any other
 ‘ Country? And when the King, in every
 ‘ Thing, makes the Laws of the Land the Rule
 ‘ of his Government? My Lords, these Things
 ‘ may all be in Appearance, and yet we may
 ‘ have *no Liberty* left; for if the Ministers of
 ‘ the Crown, by means of *Corruption*, have
 ‘ got the Direction of *most* of our Elections,
 ‘ and consequently rendered themselves *secure*
 ‘ of a *Majority* in EVERY PARLIAMENT, we
 ‘ have NO LIBERTY; we have the SHADOW
 ‘ only of a FREE GOVERNMENT. The Ministers
 ‘ may be so wise as to abstain from *particular*
 ‘ *Oppressions*, or *particular Acts of Violence*,
 ‘ but the People IN GENERAL will be
 ‘ OPPRESSED, and the GOVERNMENT will be
 ‘ *a general and continued Act of Violence.*’

Now, if this affecting State of our Constitution is a true one, as, in Spite of that noble Lord's Conduct since, I verily, and in my Conscience, believe it is, of what infinite Consequence was it to the People of this Kingdom to return such a Representative at the next General Election, as should make it their principal
 Busi-

Business to correct these Disorders, and find out such vigorous and wholesome Expedients, as might prevent us from relapsing into the like again?

Very sufficient Care had been taken to manifest the Danger they were in; the Minister was not then set forth under the Character of an *obstinate, mistaken Man*, as you are pleas'd to call him, nor was the *sole Fault* of his Administration confin'd, either to his aiding, or conniving at, the Power of *France*: No; they were then told, That their Tragedy was in the *Last Act*, that the *Catastrophe* was at Hand, that it behoov'd them to exert themselves accordingly: And this they were told by those very Persons, who now reproach them with being *too rich* and *too happy*; and that they are *factionous* and *seditionous* for that *sole Reason*.

The People, however, having at that Time, no Suspicion of being made use of only as the Ladder of Ambition, of being deserted, sacrificed, and plung'd into greater Difficulties than those they had complain'd of before; having, on the contrary, as full Confidence in their Leaders, as lively Sense of their own Calamities, set themselves in Earnest to the great Work of throwing off the *ministerial Yoke*; and, in Spite of the Terrors of Power, or the Influence of Corruption, made it appear that the old *English* Spirit was not wholly departed, nor the Love of Liberty bury'd with the Ashes of their Forefathers.

Then

Then it was, that the Genius of the Nation once more became visible; once more made her Progress from one Extreme of the Realm to the other, and left the illustrious Traces of Integrity, Courage, and true Patriotism wherever she had pass'd: The whole Land acknowledg'd her Presence, and hail'd her as a Deliverer; while the *Oppressor* turn'd *pale* at her *Approach*, trembled at the Possibility of an Enquiry into his Guilt, and anticipated the Horrors of his Punishment.

So much chang'd was the Scene: So flattering the Prospect!

It must, nevertheless, be acknowledg'd, that this happy Turn was not owing entirely to our own Strength, or our own Virtue: Had that been the Case, we might *serve* yet other seven Years, like *Jacob* for his *Love*, with Patience; nor should we have such coercive Reasons to lament the Loss of that precious Opportunity, which now, perhaps, may never be regain'd.

But, alas! tho' we have the Name of a free Choice, we have very little of the Power; and had not a great Person of the *North*, and a much greater of the *West*, stood forth on the popular Side, as the Friends, Patrons, and Champions of the public Liberty, even the *Genius of Great-Britain*, tho' rous'd by so many and repeated Provocations, had exerted herself in vain.

G

These,

These, therefore, were adventitious Aids, the Growth of one particular Crisis, and not a necessary, coherent Part of the general System: One of these great Persons we have lost forever. Peace and Honour wait upon his Memory! And the Other, whose Interests the People had incorporated with their own ———. But when the Farce is over, it is usual to drop the Curtain.

From these few Hints, it is obvious, that we were oblig'd to Providence only, for the great Opportunity then put into our Hands; that it is extremely to be doubted, whether we shall ever be trusted with another, and consequently, that our Resentments cannot rise too high against those who so basely and treacherously traffick'd it away.

I shall follow you now to the Opening of the present, long-expected, Patriot-Parliament, reserving what I have to say on *foreign Affairs*, till I have remov'd the Rubbish I find in my Way: And at this Time you tell us, *P. 35. Ruin abroad appear'd almost impossible, highly improbable to prevent*; notwithstanding which, the *entire Opposition*, of whatever Ingredients compos'd, thought it, either their Interest, or their Duty, or Both, to *put off* the Supply; and, accordingly, did *put off the Supply*, without the least Regard of, or Concern for, what Effect it might have on the *Balance of Europe*: A Circumstance which, for very good Reasons,
you

you are asham'd to particularize; and yet you find yourself oblig'd to acknowledge the Effect it produc'd, in these Words, *P. 38. A Change of the Administration being now become absolutely necessary, the Equality of Parties being such, that no Business could be carry'd on, this Change was resolv'd.*

Now, by the Word *Business* here, can only be understood *Court-Business*; that is to say, *Money and Troops*; for, as to the People's, it had hitherto proceeded with unusual Success: It was, therefore, apparent, that to the *putting off the Supply*, this *Change* was owing, an Expedient not only fair, honest, and reasonable, but authoriz'd by the usual Practice of our best and wisest Parliaments, before Corruption was known among us, or Members found a Market for the Liberties of the People, or Ministers became their Masters: For in those Days, Redress of the public Grievances was the very Condition upon which Aids were granted by the Public to the Crown; nor was it thought bad Policy at Court, by such Concessions, to reconcile the People to extraordinary Taxes; which, perhaps, were demanded for no other Cause, than to flatter the Ambition of the Prince, or gratify the Avarice, or feed the Profusion of his Favourites.

Nor is this Expedient of *with-holding the Supplies*, authoriz'd only by the Custom of ancient Times: It was adopted by all the *Whig*-Parlia-

ments in the Reign of *Charles II.* It has been contended for by all those who took upon them to be the Patrons of the People ever since: I find the *grand Deserter* himself accus'd by the *grand Corruptor* of doing the same Thing; and I find him thus writing in his own Defence,

' If He (meaning himself) saw a manifest Design of hurrying on the *Session*, and precipitating the *Supplies*, was he to blame, in endeavouring to keep them back a little, when no urgent Necessity press'd for the Dispatch of them, that the House might have Time to look into *other Affairs*, and pass some other *useful Bills*, as well as *Money Bills*?'

Nay, I find the said *grand Deserter* in the same Page, disculpating himself, by quoting likewise the *grand Corruptor's* own *illustrious Example*.

' Will you, says he, offer to say, *that you never voted against the common Supplies, or attempted to distress the public Service?*— Look into the *Defection* consider'd, and see what is there said of you upon this Head.'

ANSWER TO THE REMARKS, Page 19.

But, notwithstanding all this, it seems, there are Times and Seasons, when this Expedient of *postponing the Supplies*, none but *Monsters* and *Madmen* would have Recourse to: for so you politely insinuate, P. 98. when letting loose your Indignation against the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, for presuming to *instruct* their
own

own Representatives: These Times and Seasons, you farther tell us, are when the *Balance of Power is at Stake*, as it was when these *Firebrand Instructions* were given, in which the said Expedient was recommended, as the only one that could operate in Favour of the Subject: But then you utterly forget that, by your own Confession, the very same Measure was made use of, by the *Deserters* themselves, when the Situation of *Europe* was full as critical, and its Danger full as apparent.

So little are you aware of the Conclusions that result from your own Premisses; or so thoroughly are you determin'd to assert any Thing, however contrary to Truth, provided it will answer a present Turn, and serve as a Crutch for your halting Cause.

But, however, you may now rail against this only Branch of Power remaining in the People, of withholding the Supply till their *Petitions* are granted, nothing is more certain, than, that the *Change* you are so pleas'd with, had neither been found necessary, nor would ever have taken Place, if that *Power* had not then been put in Force. Had the Demands of the *Minister* been comply'd with as usual, the Session had proceeded as tamely, and ended as mildly as usual: Many shrewd Motions, perhaps, had been made, many fine Speeches had been utter'd, many smart Things had been said; But not one public Service had been done: Whereas,
by

by holding the Purse in our own Hands, we were in a Condition to parley with the Sceptre, as our Ancestors had done before us; and had it in our Power to stop all the *Political-Windmills* that were at Work abroad, till we had receiv'd Satisfaction at home.

This was clearly evidenc'd by the Conduct of the Minister, who then saw the Sheers ready to cut the Thread of his Administration, and trembled for his Life. Money was the sole Means, as well as the sole End of his Government: When we stopt Payment, he was sure to be a Bankrupt; and it is no Wonder, when he could hold his Power no longer, he was willing to lay it down.

During this Interval, the Nation was in a Ferment 'tis true; but then it was such a one, as had been long wished, and long wanted; such a one as argued the *Spirit* of the Commonwealth was rising uppermost; such a one as our *Deserters* themselves had for almost Twenty Years been working up: But such a one, it seems, as they had neither Genius nor Integrity to make a right use of.

When Fortune had shuffled the Pack to their own Wish, had put all the winning Cards in their Hands, it appear'd truly they did not understand the Game.—For 'tis thus even you describe them; unprepar'd for the very Event, they had so long endeavour'd to bring to pass, stunn'd with their own Success, afraid
of

of their own Shadows, and for a while at a Loss, whether they should go over to the Minister, or continue with the People.

For our Sins, however, they became so infatuated, that their Councils turn'd all into Foolishness, and of the two Propositions they, at last, chose the worst.

But, like the Sluggard in the *Proverbs*, you tell us, by Way of Excuse for their *Apostacy*, that there was a *Lion in the Way*—your shocking, wicked Expressions are these:

Most certain it is, whatever the ignorant
 'Vulgar may think, or wicked Men pretend,
 'that the *Domestic Peace* was, at this Con-
 'juncture, in the *utmost Hazard*, and, that, at
 'this Hour, we had been involv'd in *horrible*
 'Confusion, if his Majesty's Prudence had not
 'dictated and assisted us in the middle Course
 'of Moderation, in which all Safety consists,
 'by *yielding* to a Change of the Minister, and
 'yet *resolving* to defend the Person of the
 'Man remov'd from the Rage and Fury of
 'the Time. By this Measure that entire
 'Victory of *Party*, which must have produc'd
 'insufferable Insolence, and rais'd unforeseen,
 'extravagant and *irresistable* Expectations, was
 'awarded with its *Consequences*, which like
 'a Torrent, would have broke in upon us,
 'and in a *merciless* Manner, swept away both
 'Good and Bad, who had given Opposition to
 'it, and probably carried before it, in its Tide
 ' of

‘ of Reformation, all the Guards and Securities of our happy Constitution.

‘ Had the Government been taken by *Storm*, had the People been once BLOODED, who can say where they would have stopt, or who could have Authority to have cast down the Bar before them? *P. 36, 37.*

‘ Now that a *civil War* had been the Consequence, is the Opinion of every Man of Experience in this Country: *The Symptoms of it never appear'd so strong in any Period of our History, &c.*

Now what would be the Thoughts of a Stranger to the real State of the Nation at that Time, upon reading these horrid Assertions? Or what would Posterity conclude of our Case, if they were to be no otherwise inform'd, than by these profligate Pages of yours? Would not both the one and the other take it for granted, that the Multitude had got the Bit in their Teeth, and were actually hurrying the Commonwealth down the Precipice of Anarchy and Confusion? Would not they, at least, be confident, that the People, or their Leaders for them, had form'd their Plan of Mischief, had their Arms ready, their Magazines fill'd, their Places of Rendezvous appointed, and waited only for the Signal to draw the Sword, and let loose Destruction? Do not your own Words, which I have fairly quoted, excite these dreadful Ideas? and ought you not to have

have accompany'd your Affirmation with Evidence? Ought you not to have specify'd those mortal Symptoms, which threaten'd the Dissolution of the Body Politic? Have you done this? Could you do it? Was there the least Ground for any of those shameless Particulars, which you have presumed to advance upon this Occasion? Had the People any other Share in the Struggle than their Prayers and Wishes? Did they attend the House in a tumultuous Manner? Did they offer the least Insult to any one Member? Did they not, on the contrary, follow their own private Affairs, with as much Tranquility as usual, and content themselves with enquiring only, from Day to Day, what Hope there was of Redemption? Did they not place their sole Trust and Confidence in their Representatives? Did not they leave the Fate of themselves and their Posterity entirely to their Decision? And have not the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom empower'd them to do so? Is there any Affair too high for the Consideration of that Representative? Have they not dispos'd of Kingdoms? And shall they not preserve them?

Again: Did the People in their Instructions, betray any Reserve, that might indicate they had more to ask, than they express'd, or other than legal Means to obtain it? Was not the Case far otherwise? Did they not speak out so freely, plainly and fully, that Advantage has

H

been

been taken of their Openness, to charge them with *Treason*, to talk of *forfeiting Charters*, &c? And yet, however obnoxious they are become by this ingenuous Conduct, however they have been abus'd and villify'd for it, did they insist upon any one Point, which they had not Authority for, in the Writings, Speeches and Motions of those very Men, who first *courted* their Affections, then *betray'd* them, and now *libel* them?

Indeed you drop a Hint, P. 58. while you are vindicating and extolling a certain Phantom-Place Bill (of which we shall have Occasion to speak by and by) *That the popular Spirit so far disgrac'd itself on that Occasion, as gave a JUST HANDLE for a Charge upon the People of England, that give them ONE Thing, it only leads them to expect MORE, and that nothing but a TOTAL TRANSLATION of all Power to their Scale, will put a Period to their CLAMOUR.*

But if we are to accept of this as a Reason, why the present Demands of the People are not comply'd with, the same Reason will hold equally good in all Reigns, and under all Administrations: *Wentworth* and *Clifford*, *Sunderland* and *Father Petre* might have made use of the same Plea, in the same Words: *You never shall have Redress, because no Redress will give you Satisfaction.*

But

But the Charge itself is an infamous and insolent Abuse; no People in the World are, for the general, so easily satisfied as the People of *England*; so dispos'd to compound their Demands, and accept of any nominal, instead of real Satisfaction: Witness the Passiveness and Credulity which they manifested at the *Restoration*, at the *Revolution*, at the Repeal of some of the most significant Clauses in the Act of *Settlement*, and at the Passing of the *Septennial Bill*! And let me tell you farther, that when they appear'd to be possess'd with a contrary Spirit, it was while they were under the Influence of the *Whigs*; more especially in the Reign of *Charles II.* when they insisted so hotly upon the *Exclusion Bill*; and refus'd a more valuable Equivalent than they have ever been able to lay hold of since.

But you are not content with the foul and scandalous Aspersions, with which you have bespatter'd your Fellow-Subjects; even Majesty itself hath not escap'd you; for in some of the Passages before quoted, you have the Front to say, *that the King yielded to a Change of the Minister, and yet RESOLVED to defend the Person of the Man* remov'd. And again, p. 67. setting forth the present Power of the Crown, in Comparison with what it was, in the unhappy Reign of *Charles I.* you add, ' That Prince had *no Revenue*, he had *no Army*; the present Prince has *Both*: And tho' he neither

‘ could nor would employ either to enslave
 ‘ his People, he undoubtedly would and could
 ‘ exert them in his *own just Defence*, and in
 ‘ that of the *Constitution* of his Kingdoms.

Before I proceed to expose the many wicked
 Insinuations contain’d in these few Lines, I
 would have you recollect, that you have be-
 stow’d no less than Twenty-eight Pages of
 your Book, to prove, *that the * Ballance of*
Power preponderates more on the Side of the
People, than it ever did in any Period of our
Government: And yet here you tell us in plain
English, that King Charles I. *had neither Re-*
venue, nor Army, and that the present Prince
has Both, &c.—For God’s Sake, when you
 set down to write again, endeavour to remem-
 ber the proverbial Saying, *That certain Per-*
sons ought to have good Memories.

But it is scarce worth while to dwell a Mo-
 ment on this Inconsistency, however notorious,
 when Points of so much greater Importance
 are before us.

How can you presume to say, *The KING was*
RESOLV’D to defend the Person of the Man re-
mov’d? If the Man was innocent, he did not
 stand in need of the King’s Protection; if guil-
 ty, we are not to suppose it was in his Power
 to protect him, nor that he would have pro-
 tected

* No farther Notice is here taken of this Part of our Au-
 thor’s Performance; because the Public may speedily expect to
 see, *an Historical Discourse on the Use and Abuse of Parliaments*,
 in which this Point will be settled to Demonstration.

rected him if he could. The King can do no Wrong. The King is neither to deny nor delay Justice. These are Maxims both in Law and Equity. By the First we are to understand, that the King's Authority is circumscrib'd by the Laws (not that whatever he does is right, as late Interpretations have ridiculously and servilely explain'd it); and by the Second, that his Office is to put those Laws in Execution: Now, to protect the Guilty is as much a Breach of the Laws, as great a Violation of Justice, as to oppress the Innocent: It cannot, therefore, it ought not, to be imagin'd, that His Majesty made any such *Resolution*; and consequently you have, in this Instance, committed an Outrage on the Person of the King, that as little deserves Forgiveness, as the groundless Calumnies with which you have aspers'd the People.

Again, how can you presume to make use of the Words *Revenue* and *Army* by way of *Menace*? How can you presume to insinuate, that we have any Thing to fear from Either? Was not the *Revenue* the free Gift of the People, for the Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown? And who but you would entertain the remotest Jealousy, that the People should become the Martyrs of their own Generosity? Is not the *Army* ever call'd an Annual Army, a Parliamentary Army, the People's Army? Is not this the Language of
every

every Session? Are not we told it is kept up *solely* for our *Defence* and *Preservation*? Do not we *feel* that the Expence is defray'd out of our own Pockets? Have we not the Comfort to know that it is compos'd of *Englishmen*? And are we not sure, that His Majesty will never expect any Service from them, that is inconsistent with their Duty to their Country?

But you will urge, that your Menace is qualify'd by the Words, *His own just Defence, and that of the Constitution*.— I deny it. —

Those Words have no Meaning, no Business there: For who hath so much as dreamt of any one Circumstance that could authorize the Use of them? Our Quarrel was with the *Minister*, not with the *Prince*, and we ever express'd the most Cordial Duty to the One, while our Animosities rag'd the highest against the Other: And as to the *Constitution*, instead of making any Attempt to violate it, our only Concern, our only Endeavour hath been for its Preservation.

Having thus made it most apparent, that the People had nothing to apprehend from the Prince, nor the Prince from the People; that all you have said on these Heads, is the Fruit of your own corrupt Imagination, and that it is impossible any such *Resolution* should have been taken, as you have had the Boldness to surmise, for the *Protection* of the *Minister*, against the Cries of the People, it follows,
there

there were no such mighty Difficulties, no such dreadful Dangers to stop the Progress of Reformation, nor any such fatal Effects to be apprehended from it, as you have set forth in such terrible Colours.

Difficulties, and Dangers indeed our *then Managers* were beset with on every Side, but these Dangers and Difficulties arose from their own private Views, and not the Claims of the Public; for they aim'd at no less than the keeping up the Tempest till they got into Port, and the next Moment bespeaking a Calm: Most justly then were they afraid of the Experiment; and that it would be next to impossible for them, to steer so exactly, as neither to be wreck'd on the *Sylla* of the Court nor the *Charibdis* of the People.

Had they, on the contrary, maintain'd their Integrity, had they continued true to the Public, and turn'd a deaf Ear to every Proposal, from the Minister wherein Justice and Redress were not included, that *one* Expedient of withholding the Supplies, which as you yourself confess, had operated strong enough to procure what is call'd a *Change*, would have likewise exacted satisfactory Terms for the People.

Did not the whole Band of *Mercenaries* appear like *Milton's Devils*, *thunderstruck*, *spiritless*, *afflicted*, *fallen*? Was not their *Paymaster*, from the very Image of Insolence, become the very Image of Wretchedness itself?

And

And did not every Hour, and every Circumstance, in every Place, bear Witness, that there was none to deliver?

But, tho' the Crisis was so great, it soon appear'd, as we have before observ'd, that our *Managers* had not Minds great enough to make a proper Use of it: With the Road to true Honour open before them, with *God* and *Man* on their Side, with the Eyes not only of all *England*, but all *Europe* fix'd upon the Event, they bargain'd in the Dark, for what they might have challeng'd at Noon-Day, and accepted of Less from their Enemies, upon ignominious, precarious, perhaps hazardous Terms, than the whole Nation, with one Voice, would have insisted upon for them, as a just Acknowledgement of their Merits and Services.

But I anticipate — as indeed there is a Necessity to do, in replying to a Man, who tells the same Story so many Times over.

And this brings us to the Famous Adjournment of *February 3d.* which you tell us, *P. 38.* *ALL the House agreed to, the Whigs knowing the Necessity of it, and that a Change could not be safely made without it.*

The Charge of a desperate Design to throw all Things into Confusion, which you so modestly and charitably endeavour to fix upon the People, hath been already remov'd; and we are here oblig'd to you for a *Confession*, however

ever undesign'd, that the like Charge cannot JUSTLY be brought against those Gentlemen, who have yet the Resolution to stand in the Gap between us and Ruin, and in the midst of Despair, to labour for our Preservation.

By acknowledging that ALL the House agreed to this Expedient of an Adjournment, I say, you have made this *Confession*; for, had these Gentlemen been the bloody-minded *In-cendiaries* you have call'd them, the *Faction* you have describ'd them, had they made it their Endeavour, or harbour'd a Desire to throw the Commonwealth into Convulsions, all the World must allow, this was the Time; and that the refusing to adjourn would, in all Probability, have furnish'd them with the Means: They had the Court at an Advantage, they had the Public at their Devotion: They might have rais'd so many Difficulties, created so many Doubts, and started so many reasonable Fears, as would have justify'd that Refusal; and, consequently, the Minister must either have been given up, or He must have taken Sanctuary behind the Throne: A Prorogation or Dissolution must have follow'd next; and Either would, perhaps, have been found a more dangerous Measure, than even the suffering the Session to proceed, in Contempt of the Message for an Adjournment.

But they were far from desiring to come to any such Extremities; they wav'd all Advan-

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tages,

tages, comply'd most respectfully with his Majesty's *Request*, preserv'd all the Decencies due to Government, and expected the requisite Concessions as Acts of Grace from the Throne, which, being founded both upon Law and Justice, they might have exacted, arm'd, as they then were, with the Power of the Constitution, as well as the Affections of the People.

As this is notorious Matter of Fact, as you yourself have, in other Words, acknowledg'd it to be so, how is it possible to reconcile the Temperance and Decorum, which they manifested at one Time, with the Rage and Violence you charge them with at another? Or rather, how could you hope to support a Charge, which your own Evidence confutes?

But, for Argument's Sake, let us presume that such a Spirit was then actually abroad, as those in Power had just Reason to dread, and therefore resolv'd to oppose: Let us presume that this Disposition on both Sides, might have brought on a Contest between the Minister and the People, and that Mischief would have been the Consequence, at whose Door ought that Mischief to be laid? To whom ought the Guilt to be imputed?

It is well remember'd in the House of Lords, that, upon a Motion made there, in the late Reign, for certain Papers, which were held extremely necessary for the obtaining proper
Lights,

Lights, in some very nice and delicate Affair, then before the House, Lord *Sunderland*, who was the leading Minister, oppos'd it, because it had a Tendency, as he said, to *distress the Government, and breed Confusion*: Which gave Occasion to Lord *Cowper* to reply, most shrewdly, That, according to his Way of Reasoning, it was not the *Hue and Cry* which ought to be charg'd with *Breeding Confusion*, but the *Thief*.

This, therefore, is another of those Arguments which conclude too much; for when King *James* was laying the *Axe* to the *Root* of the *Constitution*, every Step that was taken to preserve it, tended to distress the Government, and *breed Confusion*: Had, therefore, the *Patriots* of those Times, who, I hope, you will not have the Assurance to call a *Faction*, been aw'd by this *Brutum Fulmen*, the People of *England* had never attempted to deliver themselves out of the Jaws of Popery and Slavery, by the Assistance of the Prince of *Orange*, and their own Bravery and Virtue.

But you will tell me the Cases are not parallel (and perhaps abuse me into the Bargain). I do not say they are; I hope they are not: 'Tis certain, nevertheless, that King *James's* Ministers were as little inclin'd to acknowledge the People to be in the Right, and themselves in the Wrong, as those of our own more righteous Times: And if we can never justify an Opposition to Court-Measures, till those

who advis'd them, allow that they deserve it, we have nothing left but to make a Surrender of all our Claims at once, and submit to Will and Pleasure for good and all.

To return.

Tho' you allow, *all* agreed to the Adjournment, you tell us, the *Leaders of the Tories have since treated this Measure as iniquitous*: But I am of Opinion you have asserted this without the least Authority. They may have repented of their Complaisance; they may have express'd their Concern for placing their Confidence so ill; they may have declar'd, a most iniquitous Use had been made of Both: But they never could treat the *Measure* itself as *iniquitous*; because they are conscious it was submitted to, upon all those Principles and Motives that ought to govern the Actions of honest Men.

But this is a Blemish scarce worth remarking in such a Work as yours; in which the Difficulty is not simply to expose Fallacies and detect Falshoods; but out of such a puzzling Variety, to fasten upon those which are Head and Shoulders above the Rest; and to convince the Reader by the Enormity of them, instead of confounding him with their Number.

We are now got into *the Midst of Things*: Where we find in almost every Paragraph, Facts and Circumstances put to the Torture,
or,

or, at least, the wickedest Glosses thrown upon the most innocent Actions.

Thus, having given us to understand, that the Adjournment had been consented to for *private Views*, by those you honour with the Name of the *Faction*; you next tell us, That the same Persons *thought it highly necessary to make their Appearance at Court, at this Con-juncture*. Why? *Because so many great Em-ployments were to be conferr'd in a few Days*.

Now it is obvious, I believe, to the common Sense of Mankind, that if, at this Con-juncture, these Gentlemen had not given this Evidence of their good Disposition to their Sovereign, that very *Omission* would have been charg'd upon them as a Crime; and on that Pretence many a heavy Page of this heavy Book of yours, would have loaded them with Abuses and Invectives. In *This*, we should have been told, with all that happy Energy, of which you are so consummate a Master, in *This*, their thorough Disaffection to his Majesty, is apparent; we have here a Proof of the Rancour and Malignity of their Hearts, and that they had form'd a settled Resolution to render an Accommodation impracticable.

Happy Writer! To have your Adversaries at such an Advantage, that, if they went to Court, you could represent them as *Mercenar-ies*, if they stay'd away, you could brand them for *Jacobites*!

But

But you shall not have Cause to reproach me for reasoning upon what you have *not* said, instead of what you *have*.

To Court they certainly went (with what Views we shall have a more proper Opportunity to explain by and by) But you have most grievously mis-stated the Time; for, according to your Account, they flock'd thither *before* the *Meeting* in the *Strand* took Place; whereas in Truth, they did not make that Step till some Days after.

For as at the Time of the Adjournment, there was not a Man in the Opposition, who did not seem to give Way to it, on the Presumption, that the Court requir'd it only for an Opportunity to gratify the Demands of the People with the better Grace; so it is notorious, that they did not pay their Compliments to the King in a Body, till they had receiv'd *Affurances* that those popular Demands should be complied with; which *Affurances* they actually did receive that *Meeting*, as will be made more apparent presently.

Now the Adjournment took Place *Feb. 3.* the Meeting *Feb. 11.* the P— of W— went to Court for the first Time *Feb. 17.* and it was not till the Day after, that the general Appearance was made there: Nor was it then made in order to hawk for Places and Preferments; but, in Acknowledgement of his Majesty's gracious Intentions towards his People, to
express

express their Satisfaction on seeing the D— of A— once more receiv'd into Place and Favour on the most honourable Terms, by Way of Tender of their Duty and Services, and as a publick Declaration, that tho' they had oppos'd his Majesty's Ministers, they had never been disaffected to his Person.

Upon this memorable Day, therefore, his Majesty, for the first Time, appear'd to be the King of ALL HIS PEOPLE, and had the Happiness and Glory to see himself in the midst of a more illustrious Circle, than had ever surrounded any of our Sovereigns, since Queen *Elizabeth* began to narrow the Bottom of Government, by persecuting the *Puritans*: And for this Glory and Happiness his Majesty stood oblig'd to the earnest Instances of that great and illustrious Subject, his Grace of A—.

But we must shift the Scene again: As you have mistated the Time of this Appearance at Court, so you have most grossly misrepresented what pass'd at the Meeting: This is loudly declared by almost every Nobleman and Gentleman who was present at it, and who can scarce contain their Indignation, when they read or speak of the profligate Account which you have given of it.

It is highly necessary, therefore, that your Disingenuity should be detected and expos'd, which shall now be done, on the Credit of such Witnesses as are, at once, above Reproach
or

or Suspicion; that the People may know the Truth, and that the Truth may make them free.

According to your State of the Case, a Scramble for Places was not the only sole End of the Opposition, but so avow'd to be on this remarkable Occasion.

According to mine, so abandon'd a Declaration would have been receiv'd with Abhorrence and Contempt; nor can any other Reason be assign'd for your being guilty of so vile an Abuse, but the wicked Hope of deriving an Authority from thence, for the numberless Assertions of the like Nature, which are scatter'd thro' the Rest of your Work.

You tell us the Business of the Meeting was open'd with great Solemnity, and in retailing the Speech made upon that Occasion, proceed as follows:

‘ That as every *Set of Men* had contributed
 ‘ to bring this important Point to bear, it was
 ‘ just *all Denominations of Men* should receive
 ‘ an *equal Reward* of their *Virtue*; that if a
 ‘ proper Use was made of this happy Con-
 ‘ juncture, this *Reward* might be obtain'd; that
 ‘ the *total Rout* of the *ministerial Party*, was
 ‘ what they had a Right to expect, and that
 ‘ this would make Room for *all*. But that
 ‘ there was too much Reason to fear, that this
 ‘ Use *would* not be made of the happy Oppor-
 ‘ tunity, that a few Men had PRESUM'D, with-
 ‘ out

' out communicating their Proceedings to that
 ' Assembly, to take this Work upon themselves,
 ' that by their *Manner* of doing it they had
 ' sufficient Cause to apprehend, they did not
 ' mean the GENERAL Advantage; that they
 ' had been now Eight Days in this Employ-
 ' ment, and by the few Offices they had as
 ' yet bestow'd, they were justly to be accus'd
 ' of not acting with the Vigour, that was ex-
 ' pected of them by the WHOLE PEOPLE.

' That, *among other Things*, which admini-
 ' ster'd Matter of great Jealousy, was the Choice
 ' of those already prefer'd; that this Choice
 ' having fallen PRINCIPALLY upon *Whigs*, it
 ' was an ill Omen for the *Tories*; and that if
 ' they were not to be *provided* for, the happy
 ' Effects of the *Coalition* of Parties must be de-
 ' stroy'd, and Parties again reviv'd to the great
 ' Prejudice of the Nation; that it was there-
 ' fore highly necessary to unite closely, to keep
 ' firmly together, and to continue to oppose
 ' with the same Vehemence as ever, till Justice
 ' was done the *Tories*, and till the Administra-
 ' tion was founded on the *broad Bottom* of
 ' both Parties.

Your Reply to this opening Speech (for I
 cannot call it the Right Honourable Gentle-
 man's you have made it for) is too long for
 Quotation; I shall, therefore, take the Liberty
 to give the principal Heads of it only; desiring
 you not to spare me, if I am guilty of the least
 Misrepresentation.

K

You

You tell us, therefore, ' That he set out with complaining of an unreasonable *Jealousy* entertain'd of himself and his Friends, that he was loaded with Suspensions, and *branded* with the *Imputation* of an *imaginary* CRIME, so easily to be believ'd, in the then Temper of the NATION—That he next declar'd, they had taken the Management, because the *Overtures* had *been made to them*, and because it was the Duty of *any* Man, to whom they were made, to *have* used his best Abilities, to *have* brought about a *happy Settlement*, &c. That this Settlement could not be left to the Decision of the whole Party. That *Government* was *not* reduc'd to such a Point, as to surrender at *Discretion*. That *Government* neither could, would, nor ought to be taken by STORM. That the great Points were to change the *Minister*, and to change the *Measures*: That the One was visibly already done, and that they *would engage to perform the other*. That the *principal ministerial* Posts had been supply'd with Men, who had, hitherto, been most confided in by the People, and, as to the *partial* Distribution of Employments to the *Whigs*, that, as far as their Interest should HERE-AFTER extend, they would use it faithfully to his Majesty and their Country, by recommending such to serve him, whose Principles they knew had been misrepresented, and who were true to his Family, let their Appellation be what they would, &c.

How-

However solicitous *Imposture* is to disguise herself, or curious in contriving her Mask for that Purpose, I observe it is seldom broad enough to cover her bloated Face: It may be worth while, therefore, to bestow a few cursory Remarks upon this Mask of yours, before we take it quite away.

First then, as to the Charge which you have given us for the Duke of A—'s, you have made his Grace draw Conclusions which are scarce warranted by the Premises before us: For Instance, you have limited his Speech to the *Disposal of Places only*, and yet when he proceeds to arraign the Conduct of those who had undertaken to accommodate Matters at Court, he, withal, signifies, that they had not acted with the Vigour which was expected of them by the WHOLE PEOPLE.

Now, can it be imagin'd, that the People expected them to act with Vigour in the *Disposal of Places only*, or that his Grace should reason, as if they did? Of what Consequence was it to them, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, or at the Head of the Admiralty? who made their Market at Court, or who was turn'd back on the Hands of the Public, their *Maker*? The People's Points were known to be Relief for themselves, and Security for their Posterity: And it was known likewise, that nothing short of this, either could or would give them Satisfaction: From your own State

of the Case, therefore, we are furnish'd with a strong Presumption, that you have made as free with his Grace's Speech here, as with his Character afterwards; that you have dropt what did not answer your wicked Purposes, and have given what Turn you pleas'd to the Rest.

And now for the Reply, which you have coin'd for Mr. P—, and which He, in *disowning* your *huge, angry Pamphlet*, must be understood to have *disown'd* likewise.

What could be the *imaginary Crime* which you have represented him to be so sensible of? If the betraying the *Party ONLY*, why should you make him so jealous of its Effect upon the *People*? And, if he did not purge himself even from that Imputation, how could he hope, that those should HEREAFTER depend upon his Promises, whom he had already deceiv'd? And, without their Concurrence, how could he hope to bring about a *happy Settlement*? Again; as to that choice Image, which you are so immoderately fond of, that *the Government neither could, nor would, nor ought to be taken by STORM*. How came He and his Friends to have a Share in it? Did they not STORM their Way IN? Did the least Particle of Favour, or Affection contribute to their Admittance? And if the Government was not STORM'D, was it not oblig'd to CAPITULATE? Do not even you confess, it was so far reduc'd, as to be oblig'd to
make

make Overtures, even to the very Men whom both Minister and **** detested most? And how far remov'd that was from surrendering at Discretion, let the Public judge. Then, as to the Conduct of these Gentlemen in commencing Managers for the Public, with so little Scruple or Ceremony, what better Light need be thrown upon it, than we are furnish'd with, in the Anecdote of another *simular Job*, which we find in that flaming Patriot-Performance, which we have, already, so often quoted.

“ This then, I am told, HE (*i. e.* the very Man before us) avers upon his *Honour*; that you (the *late Minister*) sent to Him one Day, as He was going out of Town, desiring to speak with Him; that, when He came, you told Him of the Reconciliation between the *late K—* and the then *P— of W—*; and that a BARGAIN was made for those *Whigs*, who had resign'd their Employments, to be put in again by Degrees. To This the Gentleman reply'd, *Who pray is it, that hath had Authority to make this Bargain?* Your Answer was, *I have done it with the Ministry, and it was insisted on, that nobody but Lord Townshend should know of the Transaction.* Neither Lord Cowper, the Speaker, nor any one else knew it; and therefore, *We hope you will not take it amiss, that it was kept secret from you ——— Not I,* said the Gentleman; *but I think it very odd that any*
one

' one should PRESUME to take a PLENARY AU-
 ' THORITY upon HIMSELF to deal for such
 ' NUMBERS as were concern'd in an Affair of
 ' this Consequence.—We have not, said you
 ' again, had our own Interests alone in View. We
 ' have bargain'd for ALL our FRIENDS; and
 ' in due Time They will be provided for. I am
 ' to be, said you, at the Head of the Treasury.
 ' Lord Sunderland had a great Desire to retain
 ' the Disposition of the Secret-Service-Money
 ' to Himself; but I would by no Means consent
 ' to That; knowing that the chief Power of a
 ' Minister (and I presume his Profit also)
 ' depends on the Disposition of it. You named
 ' several others, who were to come into Em-
 ' ployments; and said to this Gentleman, We
 ' know, Sir, that you do not value any Thing of
 ' that Kind; so We have obtain'd a Peerage
 ' for you.—To This the Gentleman reply'd,
 ' with some Warmth; Sir, if ever I should
 ' be mean enough to submit to being sold, I pro-
 ' mise you that you shall never have the selling
 ' of Me. A PEERAGE is what, some Time or
 ' other, I may be glad of accepting, for the
 ' Sake of my Family; but I will never obtain
 ' it by any base Method, or submit to have it
 ' got for me upon such Terms by You. But
 ' pray, Sir, (continued the Gentleman) since
 ' you acquaint me with the Terms you have
 ' made for Me; what are Those you have made
 ' for the P—, who hath acted so honourable
 ' and

‘ and STEADY a Part to Those, with whom He
 ‘ engaged, and who are now in Opposition to
 ‘ the Court?—To This you answer’d, with
 ‘ a Sneer, *Why He is to go to Court again, and*
 ‘ *He will have his DRUMS and his GUARDS,*
 ‘ *and such FINE THINGS.*—At This the
 ‘ Gentleman was astonish’d, and thought pro-
 ‘ per to press you a little farther, by asking
 ‘ you, *Whether the P— was to be left Regent*
 ‘ *again, as He had been, when the King went*
 ‘ *out of England.*—No, said you, WHY
 ‘ SHOULD HE?—*What!* replied the Gentle-
 ‘ man, *have you stipulated for a SHARE of ROY-*
 ‘ *ALTY for YOURSELF, on the King’s Depar-*
 ‘ *ture, and is the P— to live like a PRIVATE*
 ‘ *SUBJECT, of no Consequence in the Kingdom?*
 ‘ —The Gentleman avers, upon his Honour,
 ‘ that your Answer was This. HE DOES NOT
 ‘ DESERVE IT. WE HAVE DONE TOO MUCH
 ‘ FOR HIM: AND IF IT WAS TO BE DONE
 ‘ AGAIN, WE WOULD NOT DO SO MUCH.—
 ‘ Upon This the Gentleman went directly to
 ‘ the P— (with whom He then had some
 ‘ Credit) and humbly represented upon what
 ‘ Terms the Reconciliation was founded. He
 ‘ told Him that He was SOLD to his *Father’s*
 ‘ *Ministers by Persons,* who consider’d no-
 ‘ thing but THEMSELVES and their own IN-
 ‘ TEREST, and were in Haste to make their
 ‘ Fortunes.’

ANSWER TO THE REMARKS, P. 54, 55, 56.

What

What a most surprizing Instance of Infatuation! That a Man should make it the principal Business of his Life, for many Years together, to point out the wicked Ways of his Adversary, and then should follow him, Step by Step, thro' the same dirty Road?

There are yet several Passages in your Reply, which deserve Consideration: But I am weary of fighting with Shadows; and shall now proceed to prove, that these formal Speeches of yours, which you have had the Modesty to lay before the Public, as the Substance, are Shadows only.

The plain Matter of Fact was this.

Tho' the Power of the *late Minister* had a very broad and deep Foundation, he knew his Influence in the House of Commons was the Cement, which held all together: When, therefore, every Day's Experience convinc'd him, that, that Cement was no longer binding, and that the mighty Fabric of Corruption, which he had rais'd, was reeling on every Side, and threaten'd to crush him underneath the Ruins, he thought it high Time to provide against the impending Danger.

It was a known Maxim with him, *That all Men were to be bought*, and, thro' his whole Administration, he seems to have been govern'd, and to govern, by no other.

Upon the same coarse Expedient, therefore, which had serv'd him so long and so well, he
now

now rely'd for his Preservation, but, found it, for once, a broken Reed.

To some of those very Persons, who are at the Head of the present Opposition, whom you have set forth, *P. 44.* as a Band of *Hussars, abandoning themselves to the Plunder, before the Battle was half done*, he caus'd Application to be made, thro' several Channels; and the Language us'd upon those Occasions, was to this Effect—'He would be glad of an Accommodation. — He had rather treat with you than other People, some of whom he hates, some he despises, and some he cannot trust. — He, on the contrary, believes you to be Men of Integrity and Honour, and upon any moderate Terms.'—Here his Envoys were cut short.

'We take nothing upon ourselves. We are Agents for the Public, nor will we agree to any thing, in which the Public is not to have the first and principal Advantage.'

Alarm'd at this Discovery, that there were still some Remains of Integrity in the Land, conscious that Men of Principle would never be wrought upon to betray their Trust, and justly dreading what a Day or an Hour might bring forth, as his last Resource, and fore against the Grain, He made Advances to those who had vow'd his Destruction, who received him with open Arms, and, for a small Portion of his Spoils, engag'd to cover his Retreat.

No Juggle of this Nature can be long a Secret; either Circumstances betray it, or the Parties themselves, thro' Weakness or Artifice, reveal it.

Thus the Adjournment had no sooner taken Place, but a DARK *Whisper*, as you term it (which, by the Way, is certainly a stranger *Whisper* than ever was *penn'd* by Mr. *Bays* himself) prevail'd, that certain Persons were not so inexorable, as they had been hitherto esteem'd; that a Bargain had been struck; that the Price was fix'd; that the common Cause was deserted, and the Commonwealth betray'd.

Doubts and Jealousies upon this immediately arose, and it was but reasonable they should be dissipated: What Progress had been made in the great Work of quieting the Nation; the greatest Men in it, his M—— only excepted, and those who had contributed most in forming the then favourable Crisis, were utterly ignorant: As they had rejected the first Motions, which had been made towards a Treaty, they had no more been apply'd to, nor had those who embrac'd the Offers which they refus'd, vouchsaf'd to give them any Information.

An Eclaircissement was, therefore, on all Accounts, become necessary; and as all the Friends of the Public were interested in it, all were invited to be present at it: A Proceeding equally just and politic; Just, since the Persons
under

under Suspicion, were thereby enabled to remove it: And politic, since Declarations so publicly made, it was scarce imaginable that any Body would depart from.

At this general Meeting it was, that the noble Duke before-mention'd, with that Dignity and Freedom of Sentiment, which were natural to him, enlarg'd upon the Particulars before-mention'd, and call'd upon those concern'd, to answer as plainly and openly for themselves, as he had plainly and openly accus'd them.

I will not take upon me, as you have done, to give either his Expressions, or his Thoughts precisely: But this I will take upon me to affirm, That he insisted upon Satisfaction to the Nation, as well as to the *Tories*, upon *public* as well as *private* Justice, and upon the *total Rout* of the *Minister* and his Implements, not that so many fresh Men might be provided for, but as the readiest and surest Means to obtain those valuable Ends.

In whatever he said, he was seconded by another noble Duke, who is alike distinguished by his own Patriotism, and that of his illustrious Forefathers, and who having the most Property to lose, hath the least Reason to countenance any Measures that are likely to create Confusion, of any one Subject in *England*.

To These a certain Right Honourable Gentleman made a warm and passionate Reply, which had very little Resemblance to that, which you have thought proper to place to his Account.

He did, indeed, complain, in very lively Terms, of being unjustly suspected, and insisted very strongly on the Regard that was due to his Merits and Services, his Honour and Virtue.—But then he did not refer that illustrious Assembly to the Past only, for Proofs of his Integrity: He went much farther—He desir'd them to judge of him by what he should do, as well as what he had done: He talk'd not only like a Man in Power, but like a Man who desir'd to maintain his Popularity: He declar'd for an Administration founded on the *Broad Bottom* of both Parties, which you have so stupidly endeavour'd to ridicule: He declar'd for national Measures: He promis'd a Place-Bill; the Place-Bill, as it was then understood, which had been so often introduc'd already by another Right Honourable Patriot! He undertook for the *Pension-Bill*, and, in the most explicit Manner possible, engag'd himself to promote an Enquiry against the late Minister; and to go as far as any body whatever in placing him within the Reach of Justice: adding, ' If any Gentleman will do more for the Service of the Public, let him stand forth! let him take the Lead!

A Second Right Honourable Patriot then arose, and, among several other equally florid Things, was pleas'd to say,--That it was true he had accepted a Place, but that he did not see there was any Harm in it--that the Place was to be dispos'd of--that he might as well take it as any body else, and that he would set his Foot as far in an Enquiry, as any Man, notwithstanding.

Now nothing is more certain than, that these, or such like, Assurances were given by the *new Ministers*; and that one of them even sprinkled his Discourse with *Tears*; which so far impos'd upon the whole Assembly, that they left these *Usurpers* in Possession of the Trust which they had assum'd, and depended on seeing their Promises fulfill'd.

And yet you have, coolly and deliberately, inserted in your Book the following amazing Paragraph.

' Thus, hurry'd by Impatience, heated by
' Despair, the *Faction* (*i. e.* the *Tories*) with
' their unnatural *Allies* (*whom you have ex-*
' *plain'd above to be a few Whigs*) after a
' vain and tedious Expectation of Eight Days
' (for so much of the Fifteen Days of the Ad-
' journment had already pass'd, and they were
' not yet provided for) upon the 11th of *Fe-*
' *bruary*, 1741-2, a Day, which perhaps this
' Nation may have Reason never to forget,—
' THEY came to a FINAL BREACH—From
' this

this *exact* Period may be dated the Death of the late memorable Opposition, and the Birth of a fatal Faction, &c. P. 40, 41.

Upon what Principles, therefore, you could venture to commit such a Violence upon Truth, in the Sight, as it were, of such a Cloud of Witnesses, who you were sure, would not fail to appear in Judgment against you, I am utterly at a Loss to guess; unless you flatter'd yourself, that you should obtain Credit with your Readers, because it surpass'd Human Imagination to conceive, that any Man whatever, could be harden'd enough to be guilty of such a Trespass, or stand such a Tryal.

I remember indeed to have heard of a *Prostitute*, who publicly declar'd, that, from the Time she ceas'd to be innocent, she made it her Ambition to be eminently wicked; or as she phras'd it, to be at the Top of her Profession.

How far your Case runs parallel with her's, I leave to your own Conscience to decide: In this, however, I believe the Public will agree with me, that you have *out-gazetteer'd* all the *Gazetteers*; that the late Minister hath very good Reason to lament, that you could no sooner get the better of your *Prejudices*, and that no Man living would have gone farther in his Service.

But I lose Time, which, even in Chastisement, upon the *Incorrigible*, is thrown away: I have Reason to think you knew what was said

said and done at that Meeting as well as I, as well as any body; and, tho' I have thus reminded you of the Truth, which you have so shamefully dishonour'd, I have no Hope of prevailing with you to acknowledge it; in foreing your own Heart to bear Witness against you, and in convincing the Public, that it cannot fail to do so, are summ'd up the most sanguin of my Expectations.

To assert in Print what above a Hundred and Fifty Persons knew to be false, one would have thought was the *ne plus ultra* of the most abandon'd Mind: But you have gone yet farther still, you have asserted in Print likewise, what the whole House of Commons, what every Man, who read the Votes, could disprove: Your Words are these:

' *Almost* as soon as the Parliament met
(*after the Adjournment must be understood*)
' they began to oppose every *single* Proposition
' that was made by the new Administration.

Now the Adjournment expir'd *Feb.* 18. and the Opposition was not renew'd, till 4000 additional Troops were demanded in Parliament, which Demand was not made till towards the middle of *March*; so that here was an Interval of near Three Weeks, of patient Expectation, which surely takes up too large a Space, for the Word *almost* to cover; especially when the Advance of the Season is consider'd, and how many new Proofs every Day brought forth,

forth, that we had mistaken a *Will with the Wisp*, for the Star of the *wise Men*; which, instead of lighting us to a *Saviour*, would lead us to a Precipice.

And now, give me Leave to ask, what is become of that *Jebu-Faction* which drove so furiously to Sedition and Confusion? We have seen them, when in their mid Career, check'd by the very Breath of the Court; and giving over the Course, when in Sight of the Goal: We have seen them, when alarm'd with Suspicion and exasperated with ill Usage, pacify'd at once with fine Words and fair Promises.

What is become of that Band of *Hussars*, who were so eager for Plunder before the Battle was half won? We have seen the Gates of Profit and Preferment set wide open to them, and yet they refus'd to enter: We have seen the *principal ministerial Posts* given away before their Eyes, and yet they continued in their Ranks, and did their Duty as before.

What is become of those inveterate *Jacobites*, who lay in wait to * *destroy the Whigs, expel the present Royal Family, and change the Constitution*? We have seen the very Men, against whom you bring this heinous Charge, crouding to Court, and manifesting all the Duty and Affection, which became the most loyal Subjects.

* *Faction Detected*, p. 161.

But

But after all they renew'd their Opposition : True ; they did so — But not till it became almost criminal to delay it any longer ; nor till they were reproach'd for an over-Credulity, in persisting to place a Confidence in a Man, who now no longer deserv'd it.

Even in this, however, they were excusable, because to the very last he continued to make Patriot-Professions, and to shed Crocodile-Tears : Of this no less than Six noble Lords of unexceptionable Characters, were at one Time Witnesses ; Five of which are still living, and know what I say to be true.

But tho' the Delusion was strong, it was impossible to be lasting : The Period at length arriv'd, when the Mist vanish'd, and the Prospect lay plain before them : And then it was, they saw the Man who had been the *Head* of the People, become the *Rump* of the Ministry, without Power to do good, if he had had the Inclination. In the Cabinet *out-bid* by a Friend of his own, and *out-number'd* by the Friends of the late *Minister* : The Treasury they saw under the same Direction as formerly, tho' alter'd as to Persons and Names, and every Avenue to Power on one Hand, and Justice on the other, as effectually choak'd up, as before the late Compromise took Place : In a Word, they saw the Reformation they were promis'd, at a full Stop : They saw the same pernicious Plan, under a different Form, pursued

sued abroad, and the same iniquitous Measures put in Practice at Home.

Never was Opposition, therefore, more seasonable or more necessary, than that which was renew'd at this alarming Crisis: The Constitution was visibly sinking under a Load of Perfidy, Oppression, and Corruption, and nothing short of the most sudden and vigorous Efforts could save it.

But this new Opposition, however critically commenc'd, or from whatever noble and public-spirited Motives pursued, you endeavour to disgrace, by assuring us, that a Separation was now made between the *Whigs* and *Tories*; whence we are to infer, that all Virtue and Integrity had deserted the People, and gone over to the Court: Unluckily, indeed, some Few of the First would not adopt that Catholic Maxim, *That no Faith is to be kept with Heretics*, but continued true to their old Companions; which you tell us had a very ill Effect: Strange it should! when you tell us likewise, They play'd a foolish Part, in lending their Names to, and becoming Tools to the *Tories*; who, indeed, had play'd the like foolish Part, in supporting the *Whigs* before.—But, after all, you talk of these Fools as deserving a better Fate, tho' you charge them with designing to destroy the Constitution, because they could not get into Place, &c.

Now

Now whoever these poor Gentlemen are; whose Deservings you seem to be so well acquainted with, and whose Fate you are so tenderly concern'd for, I fancy you may treat them as Tools and Fools again, without giving them the least Pain: But, for God's Sake, don't affect to pity them any more? I am sure they despise your Pity yet more than your Abuse: And as to the noble Person, whom you have had the Insolence to point out in a more particular Manner upon this Occasion, you cannot but know what a singular Disregard he always shew'd both in public and private, not to you (for you was beneath his Notice) but to your Principals; and which he wore as openly, upon all Occasions, as his Star, his Ribband, or any Ornament about him --- you cannot but know, likewise, the base, wicked, and inhumane Artifices which were practis'd upon him, from the first Moment of his declining State, to the Last, that they could be of any Use.

But 'tis safe taking a dead Lyon by the Beard.

I will set down the whole Passage, but shall make no Remark upon it but what is as notoriously known to the whole World, as either to you or myself.

' And among these (namely *Fools* and *Tools*)
' a Man whose Merits, Abilities, and Weight
' entitled him to the highest Esteem of all
' Parties, whose Error (of which he hath

‘ been since too late convinc’d) is repair’d to
 ‘ his own Conscience, by his retiring from
 ‘ them, but can never be repair’d to his Coun-
 ‘ try, by his having retir’d from its Service in
 ‘ Consequence of it.

Now would not any Man living, who reads this, and did not know the contrary, believe that the D— of A— had quitted his Employments, because he was convinc’d, that he had acted wrong, in siding with the Opposition? The plain Truth was this. His Grace, persuaded and urg’d by the Opposition, who justly confided in his Honour and Integrity, complied with his Majesty’s most gracious Invitation to his Service, upon *repeated Assurances*, I do not say from the King, of a *thorough Alteration of Measures for his Country*, and decent Justice to his chief Friends of *all Denominations*: (for this was then the Language of the present underling Ministers) And the Proof of this Truth is, that when, upon his coming in, he found, after a few Weeks Tryal, no one Step made, or making towards either; but that, on the contrary, he was press’d to go into Action with Men he distrusted, and upon Measures he disapprov’d, he humbly resign’d his Employments to his Majesty; and continued acting with the Opposition, as he had always done, as long as there was any acting that Session. Ever since, I believe the World has regretted him, at least
 as

as sincerely, as either you, or your Leader can.

This is the open Fact, as it appear'd to the Public. If you can bring any one Circumstance to contradict it, do.—I know of no Tendernefs of any Kind, that you have, to restrain you.

I could say much more, but I am sensible how delicate, if not dangerous a Point it is, to say any thing of great Characters, but what is publickly known, or self-evident; and how liable the best Hearts may be, by so doing, to give Advantages to the Worst: — He is now no more — and the Cloud which Providence suffer'd to fall upon his Decline, ought to be a Lesson of Humiliation to Human Nature.

I might here enlarge on the Offence which you have given to every honest Man in the Kingdom, by treating the whole Body of the Nobility and Gentry, who form the present Opposition, with such abusive Language, and charging them with such atrocious Crimes: I might take the Hint to disgrace you, by *making* a Collection of those shocking Particulars, which have provok'd a more bitter Reply, than you would have receiv'd, if you had not wag'd open War both upon Truth and Decency. — But Weeds and Toad-stools are not worth transplanting; and it is fit they should rot on the Dunghill, where they first sprung up.

Some

Some farther Reflections, however, on the shameful Use you are pleas'd to make of the Word *Tory*, I cannot excuse myself from.

Every Body knows, that the mutual Re-proaches of *Whig* and *Tory*, arose out of, or succeeded immediately to, those of *Petitioner* and *Abhorrer*, which came into Use towards the latter End of the Reign of *Charles II.* when one Party stickled for the Use of Parliaments, and the other for a Government by Prerogative only.

Upon this blind Zeal for the Prerogative, as blind a Zeal for the Church was grafted, in the Reign of *Queen Anne*; to which were added, the Nonsense of Non-Resistance and passive Obedience; and here we have all the Ingredients of the original *Tory*; to assist, encourage, and support the Interest of *France*, as is falsely alledg'd by you, being as opposite to their Views, and as irreconcilable to their Interests, as to those of any *Whig* whatever.

Of this I have already brought sufficient Proof, by shewing what was the uniform Tenour of their Conduct during the late Reign: And, as to the Mischiefs said to have been hatching in the Four last Years of the Queen, even you yourself have the Goodness to say, P. 10. ' That the *Tories* blush'd to see the
' Tools they had been made, and trembled
' equally with the *Whigs*, at the Hazards
' which their Folly had brought upon the
' Nation;

‘ Nation ; such, as to do them *equal* Justice,
 ‘ their *Heads* had never comprehended, nor
 ‘ their *Hearts* ever intended to promote.’

For the Hazards, therefore, which the Nation was then said to be liable to, only the *Leaders* of the *Tories* were answerable: And of them, is there any one now living, who had any Share in those mischievous Projects, and withall, hath any Direction in, or Influence over the present Opposition ? If then the Fathers were innocent, how should the Children be guilty ? Or how, indeed, shall we prove, that there either is, or can be any such Thing as a *Tory* remaining ? The Church is in no Danger, the Prerogative is in no Distress ; Both are safe ; Both are flourishing ; Both are united ; and the present *happy Establishment* is a Phrase common to Both. In a Word, hath any one *Tory-Motion* been made in either House, for almost these Thirty Years pass’d ? Hath any Attack been made upon the Tolerance ? On the contrary, Have not the *Tories* made Advances to the Dissenters ? And in the most clear and explicit Terms, disavow’d all Persecution for Conscience Sake ?

But they partake of the Dexterity of *Proteus* ; they can assume what Shape they please — So you tell us : But who will take your Word ? Besides, can you deny, that your Friends the *Whigs* (those in Power I mean) are actually guilty of all, that the *Tories* can possibly be suspected

suspected of? Have they not made a worse Use of Parliaments, than ever the *Tories* did of the Prerogative? Have they not employ'd the Constitution to destroy the Constitution? Have they not sanctify'd Grievances by the Voice of the Legislature, and thereby done their Best to disarm the People of all Possibility of Redress?—You know they have: You know that, by this Means, the War of Parties is wholly at an End; that the Struggle between Prerogative and Privilege is over; that *Whig* and *Tory* are no more; and, that now the only Point in Dispute, is, whether we shall have the Benefit of our own *Revolution*, or, whether we shall be Slaves according to Law?

There are, however, Men who are call'd *Tories* in the *Opposition*. True, and so there are in the *Ministry*. What else is He, who seiz'd on the *Closet* as his Province; who threaten'd to draw more *Iron* upon *France*, than she had ever had to deal with, at one Time, before; who declar'd the *Child* in the *Cradle*, (meaning the *Infant-Czar*) should tread on her Neck; and who behav'd with so little Reserve, even when in the *Opposition*, that he seem'd to be under no Concern, who knew that Power was his only Pursuit; which was manifested in these remarkable Words: *I will neither serve with him, nor under him* (meaning Sir R—W—) But farther this
Deponent

Deponent saith not ? — You likewise inform us, that, wicked and factious as the *Tories* were, some were taken in, and gracious Resolutions had been made, with Regard to the Rest, which were all defeated by their insisting to *cut* and *carve* for themselves. — But they insisted upon no such Thing; the Person you talk of, as refus'd, by his Majesty, was never nam'd to his Majesty, and stood a Three Hours strong Solicitation of some of the most eminent *Whigs* in the Kingdom, before he would suffer his Name to be mention'd in any List, for any Preferment whatsoever; constantly declaring, That a bad Use would be made of it; that the Nation was betray'd, &c.

But whether of the *Whig* or *Tory*-Kind, or Both, you tell us the new Opposition is a Faction; and archly add, it was *form'd under the Title of the BROAD-BOTTOM: A Cant-Word, which, corresponding equally with the personal Figure of some of their Leaders, and the Nature of their Pretensions, was understood to imply, a Party united to force the Tories into the Administration.*

What a broad Inconsistency here stares us in the Face? Why Man! the Union of Factions is the Death of Faction. This Union is here confess'd; nay you insinuate, that one of these Factions acted so disinterested a Part, as to give up all its own Pretensions, in order to force the other into the *Administration*.

N

But

But it is necessary to set the *Broad-Bottom*, on its own proper Base: Which is, in plain Terms, an Association of all honest Men to abolish all Party-Distinctions, to embrace the common Interest of the Commonwealth, to free it from every Yoke, to disencumber it of every Load, to labour jointly, one and all, whether in Power, or out, to restore the broken Constitution of old *England*, and, with the Blessing of Divine Providence, render it unchangeable and immortal.

If this is the Characteristic of a Faction, the *Broad-Bottom* is a Faction, all the free Subjects of this once flourishing Island are a Faction; and none but the Tools of *Hanover*, and the Slaves of Will and Pleasure ought to aspire to the glorious Titles of Patriots, Saviours, and Deliverers.

You are moreover pleas'd, P. 46. to add Six other thundering Items, to prove that this wicked Word *Broad-Bottom* is neither better nor worse, than the *Cognomen* of a Faction; of which I shall say no more at present, than, that the Two first are downright Falshoods, and that the remaining Four belong as justly and properly to the *late* Opposition as to the *present*.

Had you been able to prove, that those *Ethiopians* in Politics, whom you have so boldly undertaken to wash *white*, did really and in earnest address themselves to fulfil their Obligations

gations to the Public, and that it was entirely owing to the Opposition of this wicked *Broad-Bottom* Faction, that they did not carry their Point, you would indeed have remov'd the Scales from our Eyes; we should have receiv'd your Book as a new Revelation; and every Man's political Creed would have been founded upon it.

But tho' you have attempted something of this Nature, after your perplex'd Manner, in many Parts of your Book, how little Evidence can be extracted out of such a World of Words? And what an unconnected, inconsistent, irreconcilable, self-contradictory Chaos is the Whole; if that can be call'd a Whole, in which no one Part is of a Piece with the Rest?

I could plague both myself and my Readers with Proofs, almost without Number or End, that I have not pass'd this Censure upon your Performance, without sufficient Grounds: But it exceeds all Patience; and I should only fatigue myself in writing what no Body would read.

Let this one, therefore, stand for all.

In Domestic (Affairs) they went, if not quite as far, as perhaps, they might have safely gone, yet as far as perhaps they could go safely, in such a Ferment. P. 45.

Can we reason any longer? Can we help laughing ourselves into Convulsions? What a

Writer? What a Politician? What an Advocate?

But, whatever Room we have here for Derision, you shall not have it to say, that I have made use of it, merely to supply the Place of Argument; and, therefore, I shall here present you with a short State of the Case, as it stands between the People, and SOME-BODY who undertook to MANAGE their Affairs, in which, I shall endeavour to throw in a Vein of Each.

The People were dissatisfied with the arbitrary Government of a Minister, supported, as they believ'd, by a corrupt Band of Mercenaries. They thought he gave up their commercial Interests to *Spain*¹, and their political ones to *France*², in order to preserve Peace, which might, indeed, be necessary to his private Schemes, of engrossing all Profit and Power, but which he render'd as burdensome and³ expensive to them, as a well-manag'd War.

Upon this Foot they complain, and demand a Redress of their present Grievances, by changing the bad Measures and the bad Minister, who was the Author of them; and a Security against the like for the future, by punishing the one, and censuring the other.

Now, what could this Change of Measures mean, but the Change of the two principal Points complain'd of, which was only to be done, by holding, for the future, an independent

[1] Fact- Det. Page 26.

[2] P. 27.

[3] P. 15.

dent Conduct towards *France*, and by a vigorous Prosecution of the War with *Spain*? Or, what could they mean by changing, or punishing the Minister, but the Removal of him and some of his immediate and most active Creatures and Dependants, from the chief Direction of Affairs, and a legal Examination into his Conduct; a Parliamentary Prosecution, if that Examination furnish'd just Matter for it, and Constitutional Punishment, if that Prosecution justified it?

In this Temper of Mind, SOME-BODY⁴ takes them by the Hand, approves their Resolutions, and engages to support these reasonable Demands, till they are comply'd with; and accordingly, does actually support and prosecute them, for near Twenty Years, with real Spirit, and seeming Integrity.

The People, animated at first by the warm Professions of this SOME-BODY, and irritated with the unseasonable Obstinacy of the Court, not to part either with the Minister, Measures, or Mercenaries, at length grow inflam'd to such a Degree, and so determin'd on these Points, as necessary to remove their present Uneasinesses and obtain future Securities, that this same SOME-BODY, who had rais'd the Flame, and strongly encourag'd their Perseverance in these Demands, began to be frighted⁵ at the Consequences of it, and plainly saw that,
if

[4] Ibid P. 13.

[5] P. 35, 36.

if they obtain'd their Demands, they would 'run mad and undo themselves, and the whole Nation, and the Constitution together; therefore, like a true Patriot, he rais'd the Flame yet *higher*, to hinder it from doing Mischief, and honestly and openly *defeated* their obtaining either Redress or Justice, when it was within their REACH, in order to fix their present Ease and future Security.

While this great, leading, superior, most able, most honest, most considerable, most *Whig*-SOME-BODY, was revolving in his Mind, the present strange, important, dangerous, perplex'd State of Things, the Prudence of the Court from a wonderful Reach of ⁸ Thought, opens a MIDDLE Way, that unites this Knot immediately. What Way? Why they apply to SOME-BODY, of great Weight and Estimation with the People, whose Authority was decisive; and say, Mr. or my L—d SOME-BODY! This mistaken Heat of the People, seems to be going on beyond a Jest; therefore, if you will put them into Temper, (and when you are pleas'd they ought to be pleas'd) we will give you such and such Offices, and the Minister shall retire: But then you are to understand, that neither he, nor his Measures, shall be either punish'd, or censur'd. Bless me! Mr. COURT, says THIS SOME-BODY, how justly, and really you are, what you ought to be, the Guardian of the Liberties of the People!

[6] Ibid. P. 37.

[7] P. 36.

[8] P. 36.

ple ! I have long thought, that if you should be forc'd -- constrain'd d'ye see -- (for willingly you can never be so mad to do it) to use the People to Redress and Justice -- they are undone--absolutely, irretrievably undone--The Government is undone-- We are all undone --and what is worse, you yourself, Mr. COURT, will be oblig'd to part with some of your greatest *Anti-Luminaries*, some of the chief Emanations of Darkness, that adorn your tenebrious System. I have long thought this, and as long impatiently expected from what Quarter would arise consummate Wisdom enough, to *content* the People, by *disappointing* them, and to *satisfy* them, by *refusing* them. 'Tis come ! and all is calm ! For, tho' it must be allow'd, that every reasonable Man must be pleas'd, when my Pretensions are gratified ; yet, to stop every unreasonable Mouth, I will condescend to show, (and that, from their own showing also) that their's are gratified too. What were their Pretensions ? Why, a Redress of their Grievances, by changing the Measures and the Minister ; and national Justice, by punishing the one, and censuring the other : What then were these Measures, and this Minister that is to be chang'd, punish'd, and censur'd ? Why, the Minister was Sir R—W—, and the Measures were, first, a servile Submission to the Influence and Interest of *France* ; the next,

next, maintaining an inglorious Peace with *Spain*, which expos'd our Trade to their Insolence and Depredations, and, at the same time, was as burdensome and expensive to us, as a well-manag'd War, that might have defended it. Well then, instead of *submitting* to *France*, when we had no Reason to fear her, we will *bully* her, when we have no Power to *hurt* her: That Measure is CHANG'D I hope. And, to avoid the just Imputation of letting our Trade lie defenceless at the Mercy of *Spain*, by an inglorious Peace, which yet was as expensive as a War, I'll warrant you we will find out Ways to make War, that, as to our Trade, shall expose it *more*, and defend it *less*; and yet, by a little help from *Germany*, shall be three Times as expensive, as any Peace that Minister ever had the Extravagance to maintain, or even the Assurance to think of. Is it possible then, but that the People must FEEL that this Measure is CHANG'D also? As to the Minister being chang'd, 'tis mispending Time to endeavour to prove it, He is OUT, and the strongest Proof on Earth that he is out (if it wanted any Proof) is, that his most attach'd *Underlings* and *Creatures* are in FULL POWER, whom, when he was *in*, he always kept in the most abject State of Submission, Servility, and Dependance. As to his Punishment, indeed, and the censuring his Measures; that they must not think of, that they

they have forfeited all *Pretensions* to, by their own *Behaviour*; the Eagerness⁹ they express'd for it, the Necessity they thought there was of it, the Right they claim'd to it, all concur to make it impracticable, impolitic to *grant*; ruinous, destructive, subversive to *receive*. So, by this happy Change of Minister and Measures, ALL SIDES are UNITED, all SATISFIED. You, Mr. COURT, obtain both what you *ask'd* and *meant*; I, what I *meant* and did not *ask*; and the People, what they *ask'd*, but did not *mean*; for the averting of which Meaning, viz. Redress and Justice) they may thank God, and their own Conduct; and particularly the ¹⁰ prudent Firmness of the best, the most able, the most considerable, most truly *Whiggish* great Men, who CALLANTLY expos'd themselves to the Torrent; thinking it the more incumbent upon them to restrain its Fury, and confine it within just Bounds, as they (though honestly and necessarily compell'd to it) had been the Men who RAIS'D it; preferring the solid Satisfaction of having TWICE sav'd their Country, to all the Noise of giddy Popularity; resigning it when they could no longer keep it; despising the Rage and Malice of a Faction; sincerely pitying, but determin'd not to follow an honest, but deluded People; who, after passing many Dangers, and, per-

O

haps,

[9] Fact. Det. P. 32, 35, 37, 44, 63, 64, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73.
[10] P. 61.

haps, smarting for their Folly, will live to do Justice to the great Characters, they now licentiously and injuriously defame. But let them go on, I love them, and ever did, and will suffer as much more from them, expose myself to the taking three Times as much more from you, undergo any Thing, rather than they shall run a Risk of carrying any Thing they think necessary, or poison themselves with Redress and Justice; 'twould be fatal to them; 'twould reduce them to the Condition ¹¹ of Sweden; 'twould make them ¹² revengeful, ¹³ insolent, ¹⁴ factious, ^{15, 16} Jacobites, Murtherers — 'twould indeed — I give you my honest Word it would — which I never did break, nor ever will. And so Mr. COURT, having disengag'd myself, with unblemish'd Honour and Fidelity from the People, I am at full Liberty to do whatever you please to command me, and to serve you in any, and every thing, with the same immaculate Integrity.

Here, I think, you end your Explanation and Justification of SOME-BODY'S Conduct, which, it seems, you fear the People may be so far bewitch'd as to suspect not to be entirely consistent with, or calculated for their Service; for the latter Part of your Volume contains a Sort of pathetic, persuasory Inveective
against

[11] Ibid. P. 33. [12] P. 37. [13] P. 34. [14, 15] Passim.
[16] P. 63.

against them, for not being *pleas'd* with their *Disappointments*. *Pleas'd* indeed, they are far from being: And I myself have spent some Time in thinking what can be the Reasons of it, tho' with very little Success; for I can figure to myself but Two, and those are both very weak ones. The one is, that the People are apt to believe, that the SOME-BODY who *supported* their Demands, and the SOME-BODY who *defeated* them, are ONE and the SAME PERSON; the other, that they find it is a Maxim with their Governours, that their Demands become *improper* and *inconceivable* in the exact Proportion, that they themselves judge them *necessary*, and pursue them with Earnestness; that their Understandings are to be new modell'd, and brought down to believe, that *Redress of Grievances* and *Justice* upon *Ministers* that occasion them, are like the two Trees of *Life* and *Knowledge* in *Paradise*, not very safe even to come near, (and, therefore, kindly guarded from them, by the flaming Sword of a *Standing-Army*) but that the Day they eat, they shall surely DIE.

This, tho' deliver'd between Jest and Earnest, is very sufficient to shew, how thoroughly resolv'd the notable SOME-BODY, here spoken of, was to promote an *Enquiry* into the *Conduct* of the *late Minister*; and, as to his *solemn Vow*, or as *solemn Declaration* in Print, before quoted, P. 28. never to give over the

Opposition, till the said Minister was deliver'd up to the JUSTICE OF HIS COUNTRY; or his hectoring Speech to the same Effect, at the Meeting in the Strand; you have taken a world of Pains, P. 61, 62, 63. to prove, how great, how gallant, how meritorious it was to break thro' all he had said, all he had wrote, all he had sworn: You add upon this pathetic Occasion, a great many fine Things besides—Put us in Mind, that *Summum Jus is Summa Injuria*—That an *Administration founded, or a Party cemented by Blood*, Lord have Mercy upon us, was a shocking Thing; and that *Justice* in this Case, would have been downright *Murder*: Nay no good End could follow from it, the Effect could only have been *Confusion*: And so, it became much better that all future Ministers should have the Precedent to plead of this Man's Indemnity, than be terrify'd from Oppression and Corruption, by one wholesome and seasonable Example—To set some *Mark* upon him, that might prevent his *Return* into *Power* again, was Punishment enough, o' Conscience—Nay, upon farther Thoughts, even this was held too much—Wherefore these most merciful Men, compounded for the keeping him out of *Power*, and excus'd the *Mark*, before thought necessary: For, tho' he had manifestly incurr'd more Penalties, than all the Acquisitions of all his Family, great as they were, could answer, tho'

tho' a Conspiracy against the Constitution was prov'd upon him, he was neither to be censur'd nor expos'd: The very Report of his Mis-doings was not to be printed, nor were the People to be indulg'd even with a Sight of the Evidence which had arose, to prove, that their Complaints were just.

It must nevertheless be own'd to the Honour of the Follower, or rather *Shadow* of this SOMEBODY, that he kept his Word, and set his *Foot* in the Enquiry duly every Day: But then it was more like a Spy than an Assistant, rather to *take Notes* of who attended, and what was done, to puzzle and perplex, than to forward the Matter in Hand, which, if he had understood his Office, or been dispos'd to have exerted the Powers and Privileges belonging to it, he might have contributed greatly to.

But then again, if no *good End* could follow from the *Enquiry*, this Right Honourable *Shadow*, not only did well, in not contributing to the *Confusion* it might have produc'd, but in *openly opposing*, as he did (and as a noble Patriot in the Upper House did likewise) the *Motion* that was made in the next Session, to *renew* the same Mischief-making *Committee*; in declaring as openly, *That all Enquiries into Frauds and Mismanagements was only deceiving the People, who ought not to be deceiv'd any longer*; and in condemning all SECOND EDITIONS of all Kinds, as worthless, good-for-nothing Things.

Thus,

Thus, as we alter our Situations, Objects alter their Appearances: When out of Power this Man was for removing the Minister, without Proofs against him, and when IN, had not the Heart to suffer those Proofs to be *search'd* after, for *fear* they should be *found*, and for *fear* that Minister should be *punish'd*.

Well, but tho' the Quarrel of the late *Opposition*, was not about *particular Laws*, they *sincerely wished*, you tell us, P. 68. *many Things mended in our Constitution*: And if they have not done all the great Things for us, which we so unreasonably expected, they at least, gave us some Tokens of their *good Will*: Thus if they did not fall upon such Measures, as might pave the Way for a Reduction of the Army, they made some Alterations in the Billeting of Soldiers — in the City and Liberty of *Westminster*: If they extended no Relief to the poor, *starving Manufacturer*, by diminishing the Taxes upon the *Necessaries of Life*, they abolish'd the *Pot-Act*: If they threw out the *Septennial Bill*, they made some Regulations in the *Scotch-Elections* — Besides, tho' they meant nothing in their *Speeches* and *Motions*, you tell us they *still do honestly mean, to proceed, as fast as they can, to rectify all other Matters of JUST UNEASINESS* — which last happy Expression puts one in Mind of the famous Passage in an old, corrupt Edition of *Shakespeare* — *Cesar doth never wrong, without just Cause.*

This,

This by the Way—But, They rectify? Poor Men! When? How? What Power have they? What Influence? In what Place? In the Cabinet? No: What Interest they had there, they dearly bought, and must *dearly pay for*? In either House? Upon what Principle? For what Reason? Credit they have none, Authority they have none, Strength they have none: How in the Name of *God*, then, should they rectify? Alas! their Day of Grace is over, and their Almightyness vanish'd with it—We have already proved they were no *Patriots*, and this proves them to have been no *Politicians*: For, if they were, they would have thought of *Archimedes*, and taken Care of *proper Ground* to fix their Machine upon, before they undertook to *move the World*.

But they have already done Wonders in our Favour: They have *actually* obtain'd * *more* for us (*i.e.* in a *Place-Bill*) than *ever* was gain'd by the People, *at any one Time*, or by *any one Bill* before; a Law the most *justly popular*, that *ever* was *obtain'd* by this Nation.

Why aye! this is something like: I love to see a Man plunge over Head and Ears at once, and not stand shivering upon the Shore, acknowledging his Sense of the Cold, and Dread of the Danger.

The Abolition of the *Star-Chamber* and

* Fact. Det. p. 58.

*High-Commission Courts, and that of Wards and Liveries; the Petition of Right; the FIRST Triennial Bill, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, that for the Regulation of Tryals, and the Act of Settlement; as it stood, when FIRST pass'd into a Law (those Paper-GUARDS of the Constitution, as you have the Modesty to entitle all Popular Laws.) are all out-done by another Paper-GUARD, or rather WASTE-Paper-Guard; which we owe to those sublime Patriots, who have been so cruelly abus'd by their * UNGRATEFUL COUNTRY; viz. the Phantom-Place-Bill before spoken of; which, AFTER the Expiration of the present Parliament, excludes the Commissioners of the Irish Revenue, as, likewise those of the Navy and Victualling Offices, together with those very considerable Persons their Clerks; and moreover the Clerks of all the Offices belonging to the Revenue, as also of the Admiralty, Navy, and Secretaries of State: After which are thrown in, to make Weight, such Persons as hold any Office Civil or Military, in Minorca or Gibraltar, OTHER than Officers having Com-missions in any Regiment there only, from being Members.*

Now, this is a Brief of the Bill, which you have set forth in such glaring Colours, and whether it affords any one Reason, to

* Facti Det. p. 155.

assert,

assert, as you have done, that *more* is obtain'd by it, than *ever* was gain'd for the PEOPLE, at *any one Time*, by *any one Bill*, before, let the People themselves judge.

But I have taken the Liberty to call it a *Phantom-Place-Bill*; true : And, in spite of all the pompous Things, which you have said in its Behalf, hold myself justified for doing so : First, because the Officers at *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, stood excluded, by other Laws before. 2. Because it falls so far short of the *comprehensive* Bill which was annually stickled for, by the very Men, to whom we are *thus highly oblig'd*, when at the Head of the Opposition : 3. Because, even partial as it is, it doth not take Effect, till the End of the present Parliament : In which Interval, the Influence it was at first calculated to destroy, may gather such additional Strength, as may be able to render all Expedients of this Nature, for ever ineffectual. And 4. Because but *Thirteen Placemen*, according to your own Account, are excluded by it, which will go but a very little Way in a Court-Majority; even, if it was true, as it is not, that a Minister could not easily make up that Deficiency another Way.

The Manner of obtaining this Bill was likewise as extraordinary as the Bill itself, *viz.* by an underhand Cabal, or as you, more ingeniously, express it, a * TACIT TREATY with the
P Lords,

* Fact. Det. p. 57.

Lords, who were, some how or other, induced to AGREE to some Bill of this Nature, which they should ENGAGE NOT TO REJECT.— But we have not Leisure to trifle, however tempting the Opportunity.

It is now high time, to follow you thro' that Walk of your Book, which is to guide us to the true Knowledge of our Foreign Affairs; but so frequent are your Excursions and Deviations, so crooked your Paths, so numerous your Doubles and Circumventions, that it is next to impossible to trace you Step by Step.

For Instance, in how many different, nay opposite Lights, do you consider the famous *Hanover-Neutrality*, which is now likely to make so conspicuous a Figure in the Annals of *Great-Britain*? In P. 75. speaking of the happy Change in our Affairs, which follow'd the happy Change of our Ministers, you add, *It could now no longer be said, that our Hands were ty'd by Fear, by Corruption, or by NEUTRAL ENGAGEMENTS*: And yet, within four Lines, you tell us, we kept *Naples* to the NEUTRALITY, which we had terrify'd it into, before, as we learnt in your preceding Page. Again, P. 77. we find the following Passage.

‘ Without all Doubt, one of the most fatal
 ‘ and unhappy Measures of the late Adminis-
 ‘ tration, was the *neutral Conduct* THERE (in
 ‘ the *Mediterranean*) you add (though, whe-
 ‘ ther all Things consider'd, it was avoidable,

‘ is

‘ is not, perhaps, so easily determin’d,) by
 ‘ which the *Spanish* Armies were enabled to
 ‘ be landed safely in Time of War, in SIGHT
 ‘ of our Squadrons in *Italy*. Again, P. 79.
 ‘ To speak fairly of it (the *Hanover Neutra-*
 ‘ *lity*) however maliciously it hath been made
 ‘ the Subject of Ridicule, it was the only Step
 ‘ *that*, in *that* Circumstance, could have been
 ‘ taken with any Prudence, &c.

In order, therefore, to accommodate our Readers with a shorter Cut to their Journey’s End, we will quit the Maze, they must otherwise be entangled in; and lead them thro’ the direct Forthright, as *Shakespeare* expresses it: And when we have seated them on the Eminence of Truth and Fact, their own Eyes will discover to them what false Lights you had hung out for them to follow, and how far, either blindly or maliciously, you would have diverted them from the right Way.

Let us, however, follow the Stream from the Source.

When the late Emperor dy’d, every Body expected, that the House of *Bourbon* would have seiz’d that favourable Opportunity of crushing its Rival the House of *Austria*, notwithstanding the *Guaranty* it had so lately given of the *Pragmatic Sanction*.

And the Surprise was universal, when not only the late *Cardinal* declar’d, but prevail’d with his Master (not in the least apt to make

rash Declarations to declare too, that the ill Faith of *France* should no longer be a Proverb; and that the Guaranty of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, solemnly given, should be scrupulously observ'd.

The Truth was, that the *Cardinal*, now in a very advanc'd Age, pacific in his Nature, dreading Difficulties, and jealous to Excess of his Power, was determin'd not to engage, upon any Account, in a War which he saw must necessarily survive him, would probably occasion another Grand Alliance against *France*, and, what he thought worse than all, would inevitably raise at Court, in the Shape of a General, a *troublesome Spirit* whom he had no Circle strong enough to hold; and that this Spirit would be *Monfieur de Belle-Isle*, whom he already knew and felt, had got an Interest at Court, independent of him: Moreover he had wip'd off the Accusation he had long lain under of Pusillanimity, by the late short War, which he had prudently made, and as prudently concluded, with the advantageous Acquisition of *Lorraine* to *France*.

The *French Nobility*, therefore, in vain call'd out for a War; in vain the Pretenders to the Spoils of the House of *Austria*, importun'd the Court of *France* for Assistance, and pointed out the critical and propitious Moment, which Fate presented to the House of *Bourbon*. The *Cardinal*, fix'd and immoveable, satisfy'd
his

his Inclinations, and consulted his Security, under the plausible Appearances of Moderation and Justice: His Eminency answering all those Applications with, *God forbid that I should rob the Widow and the Orphan!*

But if the World was surpriz'd at the unexpected Security which the Queen of *Hungary* was in, from the old and natural Enemy of her House, they were not less surpriz'd at her sudden Danger, from an antient and natural Ally.

The new King of *Prussia*, secret in form-in, and quick in executing his Resolutions, claims a Part of one of her fairest Provinces, and seizes what he claims; but, offering, at the same time, to take less than he claim'd; and in Consideration of such a Cession, to give her a great Sum of Money, an Army of Twenty Thousand Men, and to become the chief Support of her House against all Pretenders.

It is not at all extraordinary, that the Queen of *Hungary* hesitated, as to the Acceptance of these Proposals by which she was to give up, what she thought a present Certainty, for a future Alliance, which the avow'd Neutrality of *France*, gave her some Reason to hope, she might never have Occasion for: She, therefore, sent such an Army against the Invader, as in that Precipitation she could gather together; shewing, however, at the same time, no great Averseness to a Treaty.

But

But it is solely very extraordinary, and can never be accounted for, from the old, establish'd Principles of the Interest of *Europe*, in general, or of this Kingdom in particular, that the utmost Efforts were not us'd, and all possible Means employ'd, amicably to make up, almost upon any Terms, a Difference, whose fatal Consequences, there was hardly anybody short-sighted enough not to foresee: But that, on the contrary, instead of acting as common Friends and Mediators, we immediately made ourselves Parties, encourag'd the Queen of *Hungary* to reject all Overtures of Accommodation, and declar'd that War to be a *Casus Fæderis*, in Consequence of our Guaranty of the *Pragmatic Sanction*.

To account then for this, we must look into *Lower Saxony*, where, indeed, we must seek and shall find a clear Solution of all our foreign Problems: And thither, I hope, my Readers will follow me with Attention.

The Electorate of *Hanover*, that has always look'd upon the great and neighbouring Power of the King of *Prussia*, with that Jealousy, Fear, and Concupiscence, which Contiguity and conscious Inferiority always produce, consider'd this Event as favourable to its Views, and, therefore, instantly augmented its Forces with 6000 Men; which Expence was to be amply re-imburs'd by the Spoils of the King of *Prussia*, or, in all Events, as usual, by the Treas-

Treasures of *Great-Britain*; as will plainly appear hereafter.

This Measure, like all the Rest of the *Electorate*, coarsely daubed, rather than varnish'd, over, with the pretended Interest of *England*, was to be adopted and protected by it: And, accordingly, in the last Session of the last Parliament, Addresses were procur'd from both Houses, to declare, ' their Concurrence in the ' prudent Measures, which his Majesty was ' pursuing for the Preservation of the Liberties ' and Balance of *Europe*, &c. and particularly, ' to assure his Majesty, that, in Justice to, and ' in Vindication of, the Honour and Dignity ' of the *British* Crown, they would effectually stand by and support his Majesty against ' all Insults and Attacks, which any Prince or ' Power, in Resentment of the just Measures, ' which he had so wisely taken, should make ' upon any of his Majesty's Dominions, THO' ' NOT BELONGING TO THE CROWN OF ' GREAT-BRITAIN.

From which these two remarkable Observations arise: First, that the Preservation of the Liberties and Balance of Power in *Europe*, depended upon the King of *Prussia*'s claiming four Duchies in *Silesia*; and, secondly, that, for the Honour and Dignity of the *British* Crown, the Parliament would defend those Dominions which did not belong to it.

These

These Addresses, however, of which every discerning Man saw the true Meaning, met, as you perhaps know, with some Opposition in both Houses, tho' but a faint one, in the *Lower*, where the *SOMEBODY* before spoken of, who had not yet *thrown off* the *Mask*, maintain'd a miraculous Influence; he spoke as usual, both *for* it, and *against* it, and concluded with that infrigidating Acquiescence, which he had *often* and *successfully* made use of, to *promote* the Designs of the *Court*, and *conceal* his own.

In the *Upper House*, a noble Patriot, at least he was then call'd so, tho' he did not quite throw off the *Mask*, *lifted it up* upon this Occasion, and *distinguished himself* in Support of those prudent Measures, and of the Address; which, in Truth, were his own.

But Others expos'd these Measures, and foretold their Consequences; alledging that, to take the Part propos'd between the Queen of *Hungary* and the King of *Prussia*, instead of that of common Friends and Mediators, would certainly throw that Prince into the Arms of *France*, which would probably tempt the Last to alter its Conduct, and do what it had hitherto declin'd.

These Addresses, however, being obtain'd, and a Sanction thereby given to the first Steps, the *Hanoverian* Measures took their full Swing:

*Six

* Six Thousand *Danes*, and as many *Hessians*, were taken into *British* Pay, visibly for none but *Hanover*-Purposes, and a Plan was immediately, form'd (which was, afterwards, inadvertently, laid among many other Papers, before Parliament) by which the King of *Prussia's* Dominions were to be DISMEMBER'D and belong *primo Occupanti*: And *Hanover*, as we have before observ'd, had taken Care to put itself in a Condition, to be that *first Occupyer*.

But the Iniquity of this Proposal shock'd even the Queen of *Hungary*, who, as it appears by her Answer, laid before the Parliament also, declar'd, ' That she would have ' nothing to do with so unjust a Measure: ' That, all she desir'd, was only not to be ' robb'd herself; far from intending to rob ' others: And that she would neither envy, ' nor share whatever might be got in such a ' Manner.

This was some Disappointment to the Views of the *Electorate*, which, already flatter'd itself with the Acquisition of *Magdebourg*, and some other convenient Parcels of the King of *Prussia's* Dominions; and, in Consequence of this, it appears, from the same Heap of Letters and Papers, that the Measures of the Court of *Great-Britain*, fluctuated extremely with Re-

* To whom were to have been added, Ten Thousand *English*.

gard to the Queen of *Hungary* and the King of *Prussia*; sometimes we press her to make up Matters amicably with that Prince; sometimes we promise her Assistance against him; and sometimes we tell her, we can give her no Advice at all; just as the Hopes and Fears, which, alternately, agitated the poor *Electorate*, prevail'd.

For now the King of *Prussia*, who well knew the good Will that his Relation and Neighbour bore him; and who, very possibly, had heard something of the above-mention'd *Plan*, but who was thoroughly inform'd of the public Part *England* had taken against him, throws himself into the Arms of *France*, as it was foretold he would, and, as it was plain, he must.

This propos'd Alliance from so considerable a Prince of the Empire, and moreover an ancient Ally of the House of *Austria*, instead of being embrac'd with Rapture, as by most *French* Ministers it would have been, lay'd the old *Cardinal* under great Difficulties; who still resolv'd not to engage in a War, for the Reasons above-mention'd, and preach'd on, upon his old Texts of Moderation and Justice: But, unluckily, for him, for the Queen of *Hungary*, and still more for us, this Event, this Accession of Strength in the Empire, had given so much Strength, likewise, to the active and military Part of the *French* Council, that the *Cardinal* could no longer withstand it.

Mon-

Monſieur de Belleiſſe, bold, indefatigable and intreaguſing, and who knew, that he muſt be the *Hero* of the *Piece*, if he could but get it acted, had found *ſecret* and *acceptable* Channels, thro' which to convey his ſhining Plans to the King; which he was, likewise, ſure would be approv'd of by all the *French* Nobility; and all ſucceeded ſo far to his Wiſh, that the *Cardinal* found out, that he was not to be Miniſter a Fortnight longer, if he did not agree to the War: So that with the Flexibility of a Miniſter, and with a Diſſimulation that never coſt him any Thing, he concurr'd in what he could no longer oppoſe; but not without Hopes, on the one Hand, that the formidable Power of *France*, join'd with the Houſes of *Brandenbourg*, *Bavaria*, and probably *Saxony*, would, at once, ſtun the Queen of *Hungary* into ſuch a Peace, as *France* ſhould think fit to give; and reſolving, on the other Hand, that, if it came to a War, M. de Belleiſſe, unsupported and unſupply'd, ſhould be the firſt Victim of it.

Now nothing leſs than the maſculine Firmneſs of the Queen of *Hungary* could have diſappointed thoſe Hopes: But then he took Care that his Reſentment, at leaſt, ſhould be ſatisfy'd; and Monſ. de Belleiſſe's Plan fail'd, only from the manifeſt Want of all the Neceſſaries promis'd him to carry it on.

To *This*; to *This* ONLY, and not to any Assistance of OUR'S, does the Queen of Hungary owe the fortunate and unexpected Turn her Affairs took in Germany.

The King of Prussia immediately pointed out to his new Allies the *Electorate* of Hanover, as the tender and darling Object, upon whose Danger and Fear, or Hope and Security, the Operations of Great-Britain would infallibly depend.

This was no News to the French Court, who, in a long Course of Negotiations, had experienc'd Hanover to be the Spring of them all; and, accordingly, the Marechal de Maillebois, with an Army of 40,000 Men, was forthwith sent into Westphalia, upon the Frontiers of Hanover, which produc'd a notable Change in the Affairs and Views of the *Electorate*.

Far now from thinking to acquire any of the Possessions of its Neighbours, it trembled for its own: And the Righter of Wrongs, the Protector of the Orphan, and the Avenger of Europe, dispatch'd Monsieur Hardenberg, *incognito*, to PARIS, to beg both Mercy and Pardon, and to obtain a *Neutrality* if possible.

This humble Petition was not more necessary for the trembling *Electorate*, than agreeable to the Disposition of the Cardinal, who lov'd Negotiations, and always drew some Advantage out of them.—But what Return could

could *Hanover* make for this Mercy, if shewn? To promise to be good, and to do so no more, was promising nothing: Monsieur *Maillebois's* Army was sufficient Security for that: But *England* could give some Equivalent, and consequently *England* must, and DID.

England was then SAID to be in War with *Spain*, and had a Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, under Admiral *Haddock*, superiour to any, that *France* and *Spain*, UNITED, could bring against it: The *Cardinal*, therefore, wisely thought, that the *Neutrality* of such a Fleet, would be a very ample Equivalent for the Mercy he might extend to *Hanover*. It was no sooner propos'd than granted; and *Spain* transported, without the least Interruption, what * Troops it pleas'd into *Italy*, and the *Spanish* Fleet rode in full Security, in Sight of our's; which has ever since, been able to keep both that, and their *French* Auxiliaries, enclos'd in the same Pound.

A Transaction that will appear as shameful in the Annals of this Country, as it has prov'd fatal to the Health and Quiet of the Brave Officer, who then commanded that inactive Squadron!

The only little Mite of its own, which the *Electorate* could throw into the *Neutrality*, was the Engagement of its Vote for the Elector
of

* In above 200 Transports, from the open Road of *Barcelona*, convey'd by Three Men of War only.

of *Bavaria*, which was willingly promis'd, and as willingly perform'd: That *Electorate* desiring as little as any other, that the Imperial Dignity should be join'd to the Power of the House of *Austria*, and having been more than any other, ever since the Year 1721, the Cause of weakening that Power.

This *Escape* compass'd, *Hanover* chang'd its Tone, and grew gentle and conciliating: Some *Testamentary* Claims of the King of *Prussia's* were, with all Humility, comply'd with, and the Queen of *Hungary* was press'd, and, at last, prevail'd with, to yield ALL *Silesia* to that Prince, tho' he had lost a Battle, and had in a Manner broke with *France*, by THOSE who so lately had advis'd and encourag'd her to refuse a SMALL PART of it; for which even an advantageous *Equivalent* had been offerr'd.

I cannot close my Account of this scandalous Proceeding, without putting you in Mind, that even our own Ministers were so thoroughly and justly asham'd of it, that they order'd Mr. *Trevor*, at the *Hague*, to disown, that any such Treaty of *Neutrality* had been sign'd: And he did, accordingly, disown it to the States, upon that *Authority*. But what was so great a Reproach to us, reflected as high a Degree of Glory upon *France*; it was, therefore, as much her Interest to publish, as our's to conceal, it: And, thus, we find her declaring to the said States, by M. *de Fenelon*, her
 Embassa-

Embassador, the 2d of *October*, N. S. following:

‘ That the King of *England* had demanded of
 ‘ the King of *France*, the *Neutrality* for his
 ‘ *German* Dominions; and that, that *Monarch*
 ‘ (not *Elector*) promis’d, not to give any Suc-
 ‘ COURS to the Queen of *Hungary*, nor to
 ‘ OPPOSE the DESIGNS of the ALLIES of
 ‘ *France*: That, moreover, his *Britannic* Ma-
 ‘ jesty had given his Vote to the *Elector* of
 ‘ *Bavaria*; and, at the same time, declar’d,
 ‘ that he was dispos’d to accommodate Mat-
 ‘ ters with *Spain*, upon the CONDITIONS,
 ‘ which his most CHRISTIAN MAJESTY shall
 ‘ judge the most REASONABLE and EQUI-
 ‘ TABLE.’

What Effect this blessed *Neutrality* imme-
 diately had upon OUR Affairs, we have already
 seen; and that this Effect was not only fore-
 seen, but actually provided for, is manifest
 from the *Spanish* Minister’s (Marquis de St.
 Giles) Declaration, at the *Hague*. That the
 Troops, before-mention’d, would go, and that
 very easily too; there being no Obstruction: And
 how greatly the Queen of *Hungary*, in whose
 Cause, and for whose Sake, it was to be under-
 stood, all this military Parade had been made,
 became a Sufferer by it, is equally manifest,
 by the Loss of ALL *Silesia*, the Inactivity of the
Danish and *Hessian* Troops, taken into *British*
 Pay, under the Pretence of marching to her
 Assistance, and the letting loose a new Enemy
 upon her in *Italy*. You

You will now, perhaps, think it advisable to give up your doughty Defence of this *Neutrality*, and to plead, that all these Mischiefs are to be plac'd to the Account of the *late Minister*: But neither will that be wholly allow'd you; for we have already prov'd, that your *Chiefs* in both Houses, contributed to the driving *Prussia* into the Arms of *France*, in order to make their Court to *Hanover*, which was the Source of the subsequent Troubles of *Europe*: And all the World knows, that it was at THEIR Instance, that the Queen of *Hungary* was induc'd to give up the WHOLE of *Silesia*, to pacify the Power which they had, before, done their Best to render Desperate.

But, nevertheless, when these *Chiefs* of yours had taken *entire* Possession of the *Cabinet*, you tell us, that like *Nol Bluff* in the Play, we put on our *Fighting Face* indeed, struck a Pannic thorough the *Mediterranean*, burn'd certain Cock-Boats in the Bay of *St. Tropes*, and aw'd *Naples* into a NEUTRALITY; tho' it could now be no longer *said*, you tell us likewise, that our HANDS were TYED by *Neutral Engagements*.

Great and mighty Feats to be sure! But, How worthy the Millions they have cost, or the Praise you have bestow'd upon them, requires a little farther Examination.

In the first Place, then, it is scarce to be imagin'd, that the Queen of *Hungary*, who was so tenacious of a Part of *Silesia*, would, or could

could be persuaded to part with the *Whole*, without stipulating with us, for a proper *Equivalent*, for such a Sacrifice.

Now I defy any Man to point out any one Part, or Portion, of *Europe*, that presented so fair a Prospect of furnishing this *Equivalent*, as *Naples* and *Sicily*: Both had lately belong'd to the House of *Austria*: Both had been wrested out of their Hands by Violence: It might very reasonably be presum'd, that many great Families in Both, were still inclin'd to return to their old Masters: And it was manifestly a much easier Task, by the Help of the naval Power of *England*, to force these Countries out of the Hold of *Spain*, than *Lorrain*, by the united Power of Half *Europe*, out of the Possession of *France*.

Upon these Dominions, therefore, it is most reasonable to suppose the Queen fix'd her Eye for the *Equivalent* in Question; and these, it is as reasonably to be suppos'd, she was actually promis'd: Whether the Concert went so far, as to fix upon a Plan of all the Measures necessary to put her in Possession; whether any of her Troops were order'd to the Port of *Trieſte*, there to be embark'd on Board our Ships, in order to make a Descent on *Naples*, as some Advices gave out, I will not, as yet, take upon me to prove.

That, however, the Expedition of Com-madore *Martin* was, *at first*, calculated only

to frighten the King of the Two *Sicilies* into this *Neutrality*, is utterly inconceivable ; for, we had been, long before, assur'd, that his *Sicilian* Majesty, by his Minister in *London*, had solicited a *Neutrality* in the most respectful, if not submissive Manner ; and that the said *Neutrality* had been peremptorily refus'd : There was, therefore, no Need of Terrors to compel a Man to do, what he so earnestly and passionately desir'd ; and from thence it again recurs, that we were directed to this Measure, by our Engagements to procure an Equivalent for *Silesia*, for the Queen of *Hungary*. Besides, if *Naples* really stood in such Awe of the *British* Navy, or, if the *British* Navy was, in Truth, able to perform such Wonders on the Coast of *Italy*, how comes it about, that we did not co-operate in Earnest with the *Austrians*, in a Country, where a War might have been carried on, with so great an Assurance of Success ; we being Masters at Sea, and the King of *Sardinia* locking up all the Passes in *Piedmont* ? Or, if a *Neutrality* was so necessary to *Naples*, and withall so desirable to us, why did not we, with our Fleet, play the same Game there, that *Maillebois* had, before, taught us in *Germany* ? Why had not we squeez'd out of *Naples*, an Equivalent for all that *Spain*, by the Interposition of *France*, had squeez'd out of us, by the Distress of *Hanover* before ?

But

But we must again look into *Germany*, for the Clue to this Labirinth : And there we find the Elector of *Saxony* practicing upon *Hanover*, the very Experiment, which we ought to have practic'd upon *Naples* : In a Word, EXACTING this very BOASTED NEUTRALITY, for the Rescue of his Son-in-Law *Don Carlos*.

And yet you tell us, it could be no longer said, *That our Hands were tyed by Neutral Engagements*.

But tho' *Hanover*, by these Means, had made a Shift to extricate itself out of these different Distresses, and was a little recover'd of its Frights ; it had been disappointed of its Prey ; and it was still out of Pocker, for Levies and other Preparations, which were now of no Manner of Use : Now, these Expences, the King of *Prussia* neither could, nor would re-imburse, tho' it was, at first, intended he should— Well, then *England* must. But how ? By filching, as usual, out of Foreign Subsidies ? No. The great and generous Souls of the new Ministers, disdain'd those mean and sneaking Arts ; on the contrary, they bravely resolv'd to establish the Doctrine, and avow the Practice : And this they did, by taking Sixteen Thousand *Hanoverians* into *British* Pay, without the Knowledge or Consent of Parliament, on such exorbitant Terms, with such inflaming Circumstances, and to answer such infamous Purposes, as no one ministerial Measure

in our whole History can paralel.—But, as that iniquitous Affair hath been so thoroughly and excellently explain'd in the Case of the *Hanover Troops*, and the *Vindication* of it, and as both those Pieces, in Spite of all the flimsy Sophistries which you have brought against them, remain still unconfuted, I shall not weary my Readers with a Repetition of what has been so much better said already. But, that you may not fancy you have the least Cause to triumph, because I decline entering into a minute and circumstantial Controversy with you, upon a Point which is so well understood, take only these few Particulars along with you.

1. That, whereas, you tell us, P. 88. we are highly oblig'd both to his *Majesty* and his *Ministers*, for not *insisting*, on our taking these Troops into our Pay for a *certain Time*, and likewise with the additional *Douceur* of an *annual Subsidy*, as every other *German Prince* has done, now does, and ever will *insist upon*; if you look into *Lamberti*, you will find in the *Convention* between *Queen Anne* and the *Electors of Hanover*, in 1702, neither of these modest Conditions, *sine qua non*, was so much as thought of.

2. That, whereas, (among a Number of vain *Palliatives*, which you have started, relating to the monstrous *Levy Money*, allow'd to the *Hanover Troops*, we are now saddled with) you give us to understand, P. 91. that those hir'd by
Queen

Queen *Anne*, were taken out of the Service of the *Dutch*, who, consequently, paid their *Levy Money*, &c. the *Dutch* are neither famous for hiring Troops on such extravagant Terms, nor for making Complements in Money Affairs; and, if they had been at any such Expence, they would either have demanded to be reimburs'd, or, at least, found Ways and Means, to let us know the *Value* of the Obligation they had conferr'd upon us; neither of which Particulars is to be found in any Record, that I ever yet heard of.

3. That 6000 of the very Troops in Question, were rais'd for that righteous Project, of dividing the *Prussian Bearskin* before explain'd, and the Rest were upon the Electorate-Establishment *before*: Why, therefore, we should pay *Levy-Money* for either, surpasses my Imagination.

4. That, whereas, you tell us, *P. 87. these were, in a Manner, the only Troops we could have hir'd at that Time*, we were under no Necessity, at that Time, to hire any at all; for we had still so large a * Body of disciplin'd Forces of our own, entirely unemploy'd, that we could very well have spar'd 16000 more, without exposing the Nation to any Danger, either Foreign or Domestic.

5. That, as to the Constellation of *fine Things* which follow, with Regard to these
fine

* 23,150 Land-Forces and 11,550 Marines. In all 34,700.

fine Troops and this *fine Bargain*! viz. ' That if
 ' our *Ministers* had had the *mean Inclination*
 ' to have pay'd their Court to his Majesty,
 ' they were warranted by *all Precedents* to
 ' have made their *Bargain* upon *this Footing*:
 ' —As these Troops were as GOOD as ANY in
 ' the WORLD, as they were *situated* the *most*
 ' *commodiously* for our *Service*, and as they
 ' must have been *useless* to the *common Cause*,
 ' and have been DISBANDED, if we had NOT
 ' PAID them, &c.' P. 87. I defy you to pro-
 duce any *Precedent* of any such Bargain: For
 Proofs of the *Goodness* of these Troops, I refer
 you to History, especially those Portions of it
 which treat of the Battle of *Landen*, the Siege
 of *Landau*, under the Prince of *Hesse*, and the
 Battle of *Malplaquet*; and of their *Usefulness* to
 the *common Cause*, to the Escape at *Dettinghen*,
 and the **most distant Diversion* they created there.
 And this leads us to the last illustrious Cam-
 paign, which hath afforded you such abundant
 Matter of Triumph over the *Faction*; and,
 on the Strength of which, you venture, P. 110.
 to pronounce them *Lying Prophets*; and to
 charge them with an *infamous, wicked, and*
abominable Falshood, which you tell us, P. 112.
 ' Is now as fully laid open and disprov'd in
 ' every Respect, as it was *impudently* and *ma-*
 ' *liciously* maintain'd. You add, a full Answer
 ' to all this Ribaldry is contain'd in one
 ' Word,

* *Fact. Det.* P. 86.

Word, DETTINGHEN, which, had they their
 DESERTS, should be BRANDED in the FORE-
 HEAD of every MEMBER of the FACTION.

Good God! what an Insult! what an Out-
 rage! not only to the *Minority* of *both Houses*
 of *Parliament*, but the Body of the *English*
People? For of all these is the *Faction* you
 speak of compos'd. But no Outrage, no In-
 sult from you, however gross, however pro-
 voking, is worth our Resentment, hardly our
 Notice: A *Brand* of another Kind, and from
 another Hand, seems ready to be impress'd on
 the whole Nation; I mean the Word HANOVER
 — But I hope and believe there is no *British*
 Subject, beside your self and your *Allies*, to be
 found, who hath a Heart base enough to sub-
 mit to it.

To return: The wicked and abominable
 Falshood, above-mention'd, which you so ca-
 valierly charge upon the *Faction*, is, the assert-
 ing, that our *German-Mercenaries* could not,
 nor would not MARCH into the *Empire*, whereas
 the contrary is now manifest: But the *Faction*
 did not assert they would not MARCH into the
Empire: As far as a * *March* or a *Counter-*
March, it was both presum'd and allow'd, that
 even *Hanover* itself might venture, and you
 yourself have quoted this very Passage, P. 120.
 But the Phrase they made use of, and the Idea

* Case of the *Hanover* Troops, p. 66.

they

they meant to convey was, that they would not ACT against the Emperor: And have they done so? Was there not, on the contrary, an *express Message* sent to his Imperial Majesty, while at *Francfort*, to rid him of all Terror, on Account of the then near Neighbourhood of the allied Army? And, with Regard to the *French*, is it not apparent, from every Circumstance of the Skirmish, at *Dettingben*, that *Fighting* was the Thing we thought of LEAST: Do not the remarkable Expressions in a certain noble Lord's LETTER, That, They, the *French*, were the AGGRESSORS, indicate very sufficiently, that if they had not come to Blows with us, we had never came to Blows with them? Is not this again confirm'd, by that SLIP in a subsequent Gazette, *His Majesty was persuaded, that if the Enemy ATTEMPTED ANY THING, &c?* And again, by those very emphatic Words, which, as it is said, escap'd from the Mouth of a very great Person upon the first News, which was receiv'd, that the *French* had begun the Engagement, *Then, by G--d I DECLARE WAR*, both as **** and *****? And, again, by the Orders, that were given to prevent Pursuit? And yet, again, by the putting an End to the Campaign without striking or attempting to strike another Stroke?---Thus the whole of this Summer's Expedition, amounted, in Effect, to no more than a *March* and a *Counter-March*; as had
been

been *foretold*, by the *Faction*: And, now, who ought to be branded with the Word *Dettin-ghen*, let the candid Reader determine!

But the *Faction*, likewise, gave out, that the *Dutch* would never join us; and yet behold they have join'd us, if not as Principals, at least as Auxiliaries: So they did with their Fleets at *Spithead*; but, as every body knows, under an *express Stipulation*, that those Fleets should proceed no farther: Therefore, when the same Farce was manifestly playing on Shore, which, under the late Administration, was exhibited upon the Water, I cannot say at Sea, might not the States venture with equal Safety to take a Part in it? And do not the Time and Manner, of their yielding to our Importunities, sufficiently testify, that they rather meant to lend us *Countenance* than Assistance?

Upon the Whole then, nothing is more clear and apparent, than, that the present Troubles of *Germany* had their Source in *Lower Saxony*: That the Queen of *Hungary* was encourag'd to reject the Offers of the King of *Prussia*, only from a Principle of *Hanover-Jealousy* and *Hanover-Avarice*, which gave Rise to that righteous Project, of dividing his Dominions: That the said Project gave Rise, also, to the Vote of Credit, to the taking the *Danes* and *Hessians* into *British* Pay, and the new Levy of 6000 *Hanoverians*: That for Shelter against this Storm, and to carry his

Point in *Silesia*, his *Prussian* Majesty threw himself into the Arms of *France*: That without the Invitation and Concurrence of so powerful an Ally, *France* would never have broke through the *Pragmatic Sanction*, nor molested the Queen of *Hungary*: That, after having been the Cause of these Broils, *Hanover*, for its own Security, became a Pledge for the good Behaviour of *England*, and a Means of exposing the House of *Austria*, to almost unavoidable Ruin: That, after all this, to purchase a Peace with *Prussia*, it oblig'd the Queen of *Hungary* to give up ALL *SILESIA*, tho' it had before induc'd her NOT to relinquish a PART of it, even in Exchange for a large Sum of Money, and the Acquisition of a potent Ally: That when call'd upon for the *Equivalent* which *England* was to procure for so great a Sacrifice, *Saxony* put in a *Caveat*, and oblig'd it to give Security for *Naples* and *Sicily*: That, under the frivolous Pretences of humbling *France*, and assisting the Queen of *Hungary*, tho' in Reality to be reimburs'd for the Expence of its own iniquitous Projects, it burthen'd the People of *England* with 16000 of its mercenary, useless, worthless Troops: And that under its Influence and Direction, a whole Summer was wasted in military Parades, with no other visible Design, than to amuse the *Austrians* and empoverish us.

Now

Now these being undeniable Facts, as I, really and in my Conscience, believe they are, it is no longer Matter of Wonder, that such iniquitous Measures abroad, should produce a suitable Management at Home; that those who were resolv'd to purchase Favour at any Price, should, in the very first Stage of their Ascendancy at Court, re-mortgage the Sinking Fund for 800000 *l.* and thereby give Occasion to no vulgar Writer, to upbraid them * 'with setting out with a Step, with which, they had said Sir R— W—, only would conclude; and with making that the FIRST Token of their Guilt, which they had prophesy'd (as the strongest Reflection they could cast) he meant to make the LAST of His.' And that, proceeding on in the same crooked Road, they should raise a great Part of the Extraordinaries of the following Year, by the most unjustifiable Means, *viz.* by the Encouragement of Gaming and Drinking. And shall this be the miserable Case of this once rich, great and happy Island, and shall we not dare to make it known? Are we to be led like *Lambs* to the *Slaughter*? Are we to be *dumb* before our *Sheerers*? Not, surely, till we have lost the very Name, as well as the Spirit of *Englishmen*; not till we have made a general Surrender of all our Rights and Liberties, and HANOVER is indeed branded in every Forehead.

* Miscellaneous Thoughts, p. 67.

I am here to observe, that you have been at the Trouble of adorning your Book, P. 119, 120, with a Collection of *Anti-Hanoverian* Passages, taken out of the *Case* of the *Hanover-Troops*, which you tell us, are the *very individual Words and Language of this detestable Set of Men*, (the Opposition) and written by the *most eminent* among them; adding, ' I have ' referr'd to the Pamphlets themselves, and to ' the Pages, that I may not be accus'd of ' Misrepresentation (the Books are in every ' Body's Hands) for they who are capable to ' assert *this*, are base enough to *deny* it when ' they have done.

'Tis false: They glory in it, and ever will: They could not look on and see the Property, Blood and Honour of their Fellow-Subjects submitted to the Will and Pleasure of the *Electorate*, without endeavouring to open all Eyes both within Doors and without, without giving both Prince and People, that seasonable Warning; for both were equally concern'd; the People in their Lives and Estates, and the Prince in the Affections of his People; which ought to be dearer to him, than any other Consideration.

But this Warning you are pleas'd to call, after your accurate Manner, FIRE! FURY! TREASON!

Now, as to your *Fire* and *Fury*: I leave them in your own Hands, to make what Use
of

of you please: But why TREASON? Have we sworn Allegiance to the ELECTORATE? Are we become the Bond-Slaves of HANOVER? Is there any Law to make it criminal, even in the remotest Degree, to set forth in *Print*, in *Capitals*, that the KINGDOM OF GREAT-BRITAIN ought not to be SUBORDINATE to the PETTY INTERESTS of the ELECTORATE of HANOVER? And yet this, in few Words, is the Sum of all that is either express'd or understood, in those *Pamphlets*, which you have, with so little Ceremony, call'd TREASONABLE.

It is fit, however, to let you know, what you seem to be ignorant of, that Two of the foremost Articles in your *Collection*, viz. 1. *That the Interests of Britain had been steer'd by the Hanover RUDDER.* And 2. *That the Interests of Hanover had been the TOUCHSTONE of all our Measures since the Accession*, belong to the *Two very Men*, whom you have taken upon you to defend: The first having been dropp'd in the *Upper House*, and the last in the * *Lower*, in the Days of their *Patriotism*.

But

* As were, likewise, the two following Passages, which our Author hath treated with as much Disdain and Contempt, as his own Volume of Trash deserves.

It is of no Consequence what becomes of the Liberties of Europe, if we do not first secure our Liberties at Home. Faßt. Det. p. 98.

We ought to entrench ourselves in our Island. Ibid. P. 115. This was said, when the 16000 *English Troops* were to be sent to *Flanders*: And the whole Passage run thus: *If the Dutch refuse to co-operate with us for the Deliverance of the Queen of Hungary, we ought immediately to recall our Troops, and entrench ourselves within our own Island.*

But, you go yet farther still; and with the most astonishing Presumption, draw up Articles of *Impeachment* against the King of *England*, by NAME; which, in Defiance of Shame and Conscience, you place to the Account of the *Faction*, as you call them, tho' not one of the Particulars you have referr'd to, affords the least Authority for any such Application.

Give me Leave, however, to put you in Mind, that this Artifice, likewise, hath been made Use of already, tho' not in quite so profligate a Manner, and that too, even against the great Patriot SOMEBODY, so often mention'd above. To overwhelm you with Shame and Confusion of Face, if possible, read what follows.

' You (the *Minister*) are pleas'd to tell
' us, that he (the *Patriot*) hath attack'd the
' Royal Title to the Crown, and invaded the
' Prince on the Throne; invaded him even
' in open Parliament, by * charging him with
' having broken the Terms of the Act of
' Settlement; by insisting that the Act of
' Settlement is his Majesty's ONLY Tenure, by
' which he holds his Crown; by suggesting that
' the Care of his foreign Dominions was in
' Breach of that Act, and leaving others to

* The Words he was charg'd with were these: Put the King in Mind of the Act of Settlement: That Act by which he is KING OF ME, that Act by which he hath his only Tenure to the Crown.

' cont.

' conclude, that as the Terms were broken, the
 ' Title was forfeited, and the Throne was
 ' thereby become vacant.—You then ask, in
 ' your great Candour, whether any Title in
 ' this World was ever impeached, but with a
 ' view to change the Possession.

This is the Charge.

Let us now hear the great SOMEBODY's Defence.

' The Gentleman, accused in this Manner,
 ' hath thought himself obliged, upon several
 ' Occasions, to oppose the Continuance of
 ' 12,000 *Hessian Troops* in the Pay of Great-
 ' Britain, which amounts to a yearly Land-
 ' Tax of Six-pence in the Pound, and hath al-
 ' ready (Note, this Piece was publish'd, Ann.
 ' 1731) cost the Nation above 1,200000*l*.
 ' Amongst other Reasons for discharging these
 ' Troops, He mention'd the *Act of Settlement*,
 ' which hath wisely provided that Great-Bri-
 ' tain shall never be at any Expence, on Ac-
 ' count of any foreign Dominions, which may
 ' happen to belong to her future Kings, with-
 ' out the Consent of Parliament. The Gentle-
 ' man, whom I defend, endeavour'd to per-
 ' suade the House, as a Member of Parliament
 ' hath a Right to do, not to dispense with this
 ' Limitation in the present Case; because He
 ' apprehended that the Continuance of these
 ' Troops could be of no Service, and were cer-
 ' tainly of a very great Expence, to this Na-
 ' tion. What He said, upon this Head, was
 not

‘ not intended as a Charge against the *King*,
 ‘ but only as a Motive to the *House of Com-*
 ‘ *mons*, by putting them in Mind that it
 ‘ tended to invalidate, and was in Contraven-
 ‘ tion to, one of the Limitations of the *Act of*
 ‘ *Settlement*—He might take Notice, per-
 ‘ haps, that too much Regard had been paid
 ‘ to his Majesty’s *German Dominions*; but I
 ‘ am sure He never said that This was a Breach
 ‘ of the *Act of Settlement*. He might observe
 ‘ that the *Act of Settlement* was the only *Te-*
 ‘ *nuire*, by which his Majesty holds his Crown;
 ‘ and I will defy you, Sir, to mention any
 ‘ other *Tenure*, upon which he can depend—
 ‘ It is the *strongest* and *most glorious Tenure*,
 ‘ by which any Prince can hold his Crown.

‘ Thus stands the Fact; and I will leave
 ‘ the World to determine whether any Man
 ‘ who had any Regard to Decency, Conscience,
 ‘ or even common Honesty, would put such
 ‘ an Interpretation upon Words so very inno-
 ‘ cent, and even laudable in Themselves—Is
 ‘ This *attacking the Royal Title to the Crown*?
 ‘ —Is This *invading the Prince on the*
 ‘ *Throne*?—Is This *charging Him with hav-*
 ‘ *ing broken the Act of Settlement, and leav-*
 ‘ *ing others to conclude that the Throne is be-*
 ‘ *come vacant*?—No, Sir, I believe there was
 ‘ not one Man in the whole House, who
 ‘ concluded This to be his Meaning, except
 ‘ yourself; and I would even appeal to your
 ‘ own

* own Judgment, if I could put any Trust in
 * your Declarations.'

ANSWER TO THE REMARKS, Page 9, 10, 11.

You have here a fresh Proof, that the *new Opposition* is conducted on the *same Principles* as the *old*, that the *old* was arraign'd of the *same Crimes* as the *new*, and that *France* was equally out of the Question in *Both*.

Do not, however, imagine that we have Recourse to these Passages, merely to shew, that, if we are Guilty, others are as Guilty too: No; we acknowledge no Guilt, we want no Countenance: What we have in View is to shew, that the Interest of the *German Dominions* has been long held INCOMPATIBLE with that of *England*; that the very Men who have since acted so shamefully-opposite a Part, have avow'd this Doctrine in open Parliament; that they esteem'd it meritorious to do so; and that the steady Adhering to *British Politics*, in Opposition to those of the *Electorate*, was then look'd upon as the truest Test of *Patriotism*.

If then it was meritorious to act in this Manner so long ago, when the Minister had ever the Grace to gild over the Dose with some fine Pretence or other; what must it be in these *brazen-fac'd* Times of our's, when the Mask is wholly laid aside, and the ELECTORATE is, by NAME, taken into the Pay of *Great-Britain*: Taken into our Pay, to com-

T

mit

mit such Outrages on our Mother-Country, as the holding the BALANCE of the WORLD would not atone for.

Cast your Eye once more upon *Dettingben* ; that *Dettingben* which you want to have *branded* in the *Forehead* of every ENGLISH-MAN, and behold our own gallant Troops in a starving Condition, while our *Mercenaries* were gorg'd ; treated as Poltroons, robb'd of their Rank, and dying in the Front of the Battle ; while those which eat our Bread took their *Repose*, and were PRESERV'D under the R——l-Wing : Behold our Generals and Nobility crouded out of their S——n's Presence, and out of their own Commands by insolent *Hanoverians* ; and in the Anguish of their Hearts resigning those Commissions, which it was become a Disgrace to hold : Behold the *military Badges* of old *England*, so long and so justly the Glory of the Field, thrown away in Contempt, and those of *Hanover*, mercenary *Hanover*, triumphing in their Stead —

And, now if you have one Drop of *British* Blood in your Veins, if you have one *British* Sentiment remaining about you, if you are not *germaniz'd* all over, can you help acknowledging, that these are Provocations which none but *Gibeonites* would bear, Wretches, by *Covenant*, Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water ? Can you any longer persist in calling those a *Faction*, who labour only to free their Coun-

Country from so ignominious a Yoke? Who to the King avow all imaginable Loyalty and Duty, but who consider the *E——r* as an utter Stranger to our Constitution? Who in all Things consult the Peace, Interest, and Honour of their own Country, but who declare an irreconcilable Enmity to *H———* as the Source of all our Mismanagements Abroad, and, consequently, of all our Corruptions at Home?

Remember you have said of the *Jacobites*, P. 5. *That their Opposition tended, in every Step, to destroy the Honour and Independency of their own Country*: Now doth not every *Hanover-Job* of every Kind do the same? And if the HONOUR and INDEPENDENCY of old *England* are destroy'd, what imports it, whether the Instrument be *French* or *German*—For my own Part, I had rather fall in the Field, than be assassinated in my House. I had rather perish by the Hand of an open Enemy, than have my Throat cut by a treacherous Guest. — I had rather be devour'd by a Lion, than by *Hanover-Rats*.

But why do I endeavour to persuade, when it is my Business to confute?

The Campaign is over, and what hath our Share of it produc'd? Four Standards, which were forc'd upon us at *Dettingen*, and which became invisible ever after: And certain *French* Officers in their FINE CLOATHS, who have since been exchange'd, for the WOUNDED,

which we left upon the Field of Battle, to the Mercy of the Enemy.

And is this humbling *France*? Is this restoring the Balance of *Europe*? Will this justify our Representatives for being so lavish of their Millions, for their laying the Ground-Work of a new national Debt, and for exposing the national Troops of *Great-Britain* to the Insults and Outrages of their own *Mercenaries*? Where is the EQUIVALENT for *Silesia*? Have we even set a Foot in those Provinces, which we talk of conquering? Is there the least Reason to suppose, that the *Dutch* will co-operate in fulfilling Engagements, which they had no Concern in making?

And what is become of that mighty Boast of your's, P. 117. "And we are farther *morally* sure, should the War continue, of a much greater Assistance from other *German* States (than *Hanover* and *Hesse*, that is to say), CERTAINLY from *RUSSIA*, and not *impossibly* from even *Saxony* and *Prussia*?" Is there the least Reason to imagine, that any *German* Power will contribute to the aggrandizing the House of *Austria*, which ALL so passionately desir'd to see destroy'd? Is there not some Cause to fear that, by our own wicked Arts, we have lost *Russia* forever? And, however **immensely opulent* you imagine us to be, are we able, or ought we to make use of that Ability, if

* Fact. Det. P. 107.

if we were, to undertake that more than *Herculean* Labour, ALONE?

And yet, you have written a Book, containing One Hundred and Seventy Pages, to fool us into that Belief. In vain; I do assure you — For we are more than ever convinc'd, that all Measures of that romantic if not iniquitous Kind, serve only to precipitate our Ruin — As vainly have you endeavour'd to talk us into a Humour, of placing an *implicit Confidence* in our present able and upright Ministers, or any other Ministers whatever. — We know that Jealousy is the proper Guard of Liberty; and that the Moment we become secure, we are undone.

If we have fatal Proofs, that *false Patriots* intrude into *Oppositions*, as the *Devil* did among the Sons of *God*, we have Proofs as fatal, that those *false Patriots* make the *worst* of *Ministers*; and, that if they abus'd their *Popularity*, they will certainly do the same by their *Power*.

When, therefore, the Helm is in such Hands, Opposition becomes more than ever a Duty; becomes more vigilant, more active, more violent than ever, and bids fair to be more successful than ever: And to borrow an Image, that a late noble Lord made use of upon another Occasion, *You may as well hope to stop the Tide with your Thumb, at Gravesend, as to write it out of Doors.*

Yet

Yet this, likewise, you have attempted; but, like all your other Attempts, with the worst Luck imaginable; instead of pacifying the discontented Spirit of the Times, you have render'd it more eager and impatient, I had like to have said, more desperate, than it was before; instead of stopping up the Leaks of a crazy Administration, you have open'd a Thousand new ones; and, instead of silencing the Voice of the People, you have provok'd them to raise it louder than ever.

To conclude: Tho' you have presum'd to call out for a *signal Vengeance* on the *Press*, I know of no Writer who hath made so *profligate* a Use of it, as you have done: For you have not only abus'd the *whole Opposition* in the *grossest Manner*, and *grossest Terms*, but the **WHOLE PEOPLE**, and indeed **HUMAN NATURE** itself.

5 JA 59

I am, &c.

F I N I S.